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BATTLE OF THE PLAINS
Courtesy of



BATAILLE DE HAM BY CHARLES HUOT

22e Régiment

“L’AFFAIRE EST SÉRIEUSE!” – A PAINTING OF THE BATTLE ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, 1759, FROM THE FRENCH PERSPECTIVE

EARL JOHN CHAPMAN & R. PAUL GOODMAN

Introduction

‘The affair is serious!’ So remarked Lieutenant-General Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, commander of the French forces in New France, when he first sighted the British ‘scarlet thread’ on the morning of 13 September 1759, quickly adding:¹

...run with the greatest speed to Beauport, order Poularies [sic] to remain there at the Ravine with two hundred men, and to send me all the rest...to the heights of Abraham with the utmost diligence.

La Bataille des plaines d’Abraham, the painting ‘from the French perspective’ was executed by Charles Huot in about 1900. The relatively small oil on canvas, measuring 10 by 23 inches (25.4 by 58.4 cm), is currently part of the collection at the Citadel of Quebec, home to the museum of the Royal 22nd Regiment (archival number 1983 105 001).² It has been reproduced in exhibition catalogues, and has appeared in books as a black & white low resolution image, at least up to about eighteen months ago when a coloured high resolution digital scan was made available to the authors.

The Artist

Charles Huot (baptized Charles-Édouard-Masson) was born in Quebec City on 6 April 1855, son of Charles Huot, a merchant, and his wife Aurélie Drolet. Huot’s first biographer noted that he demonstrated a talent for drawing at an early age, copying landscapes from a book his father had given him. In June 1874, he left Quebec to study at the studio of academic painter Alexandre Cabanel in Paris, France, and in March of the following year he was admitted to the École des Beaux-Arts where he followed a classical academic course of instruction. Frequently visiting Europe, he married a pastor’s daughter, Louise Schlachter, in Belitz, Germany, who bore him a daughter. In 1889, with the lustre of his studies in Paris and fourteen years spent in Europe, he returned home to Quebec City with his wife and daughter, and set about building up a clientele. By the summer

¹ *A Dialogue in Hades*, attributed to Chevalier James Johnstone (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, 1887), p.43. Lieutenant-Colonel François-Médard Poulharies was commanding officer of the Royal-Roussillon Regiment. At that time, Poulharies was in charge of the Beauport entrenchments.

² The painting is one of two undertaken by the artist on the famous battle in 1759. The other painting, held in a private collection, measures 16 by 22.5 inches (40.7 by 57.1 cm). However, from a historical perspective, it is much inferior to the smaller painting and not worthy of detailed analysis. The very small format of both paintings suggest that they were preliminary sketches, and that “no one at the time ordered a larger format.”

of 1890 he was doing portraits, and later that year he opened a painting school in his home, located at the corner of Avenue de Salaberry and Rue Grande-Allée, close to where the opposing battle lines had been formed on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. His fame and fortune increased and in May 1900 he had a solo exhibition of some one hundred pieces at the legislative building, where, from at least in 1898, he had had his studio. The one-man show received very laudatory reviews and was where he probably met Arthur George Doughty, an avid military historian and published author, who was then employed as a librarian in the same building.³ About this same time, and likely at Doughty's prompting, he completed his historic battle painting, *La Bataille des plaines d'Abraham*, the subject of this article.

As a painter, Huot was a perfectionist, his meticulous research of his subject-matter often consuming two, three, or more years. One of his more unusual projects was to draw the costumes and flags for the celebrations of Quebec's tercentenary in 1908. In 1909, in the prime of his artistic life, he received the commission that painters in the province of Quebec had dreamed of for decades: to produce a historical painting for the legislative building, *Le débat sur les langues*.⁴ That he was awarded this prestigious contract was hardly surprising, for Quebec's intellectual elite had supported him from the outset of his career, and he also had useful connections in the political milieu. When the finished work was unveiled in November 1913, it was such a success that the government quickly gave him a new contract, this time to paint an allegory based on the theme of Quebec's motto, *Je me souviens*, which would decorate the ceiling of the legislative building. By the early 1920s, he was reducing his activities, but at seventy-one years of age, he accepted a final commission from the provincial government to paint *Le Conseil souverain*, a depiction of the first meeting of that body.⁵ This commission was intended to decorate the Legislative Council chamber. Huot worked on this

³ Arthur George Doughty was born at Maidenhead, England, in 1860, the son of William Doughty. After considering a career in the church, he emigrated to Montreal in 1886, becoming joint librarian of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec in 1900. The controversy over the precise location of the battle on the Plains of Abraham first drew his attention to the neglected state of Canada's documentary heritage. A review of the differing interpretations of Canada's past presented in French and English history texts reinforced his determination to establish a comprehensive documentary foundation for a less biased, scientific historiography. His efforts made him the obvious choice for the newly combined federal position of Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records in 1904, serving in this post until 1935. He had a genius for searching out significant historical materials, including the Northcliffe Collection, the Durham Papers, as well as the transcripts of key documents in British, French and Canadian archives. He wrote or edited a number of books including the *Siege of Quebec and the battle of the Plains of Abraham*, co-authored with G.W. Parmelee and published in 1901. He died in Ottawa on 1 December 1936.

⁴ The painting depicts the acrimonious debate on 21 January 1793 at the House of Assembly of Lower Canada (then housed at the Bishop's Palace in Quebec City) over which language should be used in the chamber. French was eventually voted as the language of choice.

⁵ The Sovereign Council was a governing body in New France which acted as both Supreme Court for the colony and as a policy making body. Established in 1663 by Louis XIV, the council had evolved from earlier governing bodies. Its last meeting occurred on 28 April 1760, the day of the battle of Saint-Foy.

painting until his death on 27 January 1930; it would be completed by two students from the École des Beaux-Arts in Montreal and in Quebec City, Charles Maillard and Henry Ivan Neilson. In March of that year, the French government posthumously named Huot an *officier de l'Instruction publique*. Huot 'was a respected and admired man, whose conservative aesthetic met the expectations of his contemporaries.' Posterity would be 'harsher on him' and he was criticized for his academicism and his work as a copyist.⁶

Arthur Doughty's Involvement

Arthur Doughty, soon to become Canada's first Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records, was highly impressed with the accuracy of Huot's battle painting, presumably the smaller version,⁷ and he penned the following quote for insertion in a 1902 exhibition catalogue:⁸

Mr. Huot has spent many months in studying the topography of the Plains of Abraham in order to present a correct view of the site of the famous conflict. With the assistance of topographical plans made shortly after the event, the artist has been able to produce a faithful sketch of the battlefield. In the foreground, stretching across the plateau, the French troops are deployed, awaiting the order to advance. To the right, upon the summit of the Buttes à Neveu, Montcalm is represented with his chief officers. In the distance are the British troops, headed by Wolfe, with the rising ground upon which the Quebec Gaol now stands, in the rear. Mr. Huot is the first artist who has attempted to depict this scene from a careful and patient study of contemporary documents.

This was a high compliment indeed from the pre-eminent specialist of the battle at the turn of the 20th-century. It was most likely that it was Arthur Doughty who had provided the artist with the 'topographical plans made shortly after the event', the detailed manuscript maps prepared by British military engineers soon after the battle.

The Painting

(Authors' note: The following analysis is strictly based on the historical accuracy of the painting, as one would analyze the accuracy of a historical document. No attempt has been made to analyze its artistic merits.)

⁶ For more information on Charles Huot, see Joanne Chagnon's biography published in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol XV (1921-1930).

⁷ It is possible that the larger oil was the first of the pair to be executed by Huot. However, it is difficult to understand how the two could be so dissimilar, historically speaking. One possibility is that the first was severely criticized by Arthur Doughty, at which time Huot decided to work on a second, with Doughty's collaboration, thereby assuring a more historically accurate rendition.

⁸ Catalogue Item No. 1 – The Battle of Plains of Abraham [sic], by Charles Huot. *Wolfe and Montcalm: Catalogue of Plans, Portraits, Views and Souvenirs of the Siege of Quebec, on exhibition at the Franciscan Convent, Grande Allée, Quebec*, (Quebec, 1902), 22 pages. The original of this document is held at the National Library of Canada.

What makes this painting unique is its point of view. It is the only detailed rendering of the battle on 13 September 1759 from the perspective of the French army. The vantage point of the painting is as if the viewer was standing high on the ramparts of Quebec's fortifications, probably between the St. John's and St. Louis Gates, where Huot may very well have made his preliminary sketches.⁹ Huot's spectator looks west over the stretch of the Quebec promontory where the Plains of Abraham, the site of the famous battle, is situated.

The two best-known near contemporary oil paintings, depicting *The Death of General Wolfe* by Benjamin West and Edward Penny, show only the immediate area surrounding the dying James Wolfe from a point of view behind the British main battle line and facing eastwards towards Quebec. Except for a slight view of the river cliff in the West painting, no view of the topography of the battle is given in either painting.

The two best-known engravings, the only contemporary British-produced views of the action on 13 September 1759, show the battle as a 'narrative' incorporating the battle's several stages in one panoramic view; both based on an eyewitness sketch by one of Wolfe's aides-de-camp, Captain Hervey Smyth. The first, *A View of the Landing Place above the Town of Quebec...*,¹⁰ portrays the north-east view of the cliffs and the river as well as the landing place for the assault – all are topographically accurate. However, the distant view of the battle on the Plains above is totally obscured by clouds of smoke from the musket fire of the combatants. The second, *A View of the Taking of Quebec...*,¹¹ is perhaps the most recognizable of the two as it was usually hand-coloured and frequently reproduced in modern books and on dust wrappers. It also portrays a north-east view of the cliffs and river as well as the landing place for the assault, but adds more detail on the top of the promontory. Unfortunately, this added detail includes a fanciful deployment of the British and French battle lines, definitely not conforming to the evidence.

This leaves the Huot painting, the subject of this short paper. Although painted circa 1900, some 140 years after the battle, it is a valuable visual record,

⁹ Today, looking west from the ramparts (i.e. Huot's vantage point), one can see a modern built-up cityscape. The slight rise of the Buttes can still be seen, but much reduced and altered by modern developments. Looking left towards the southern declivity, next to the St. Lawrence River, the National Battlefields Commission has managed to preserve some open spaces, including the modern battlefield park, but even here, the topography has been altered by modernization. Looking right, beyond the fall of the northern declivity, one can see much lower ground, but again, with a modern urban face. The view of the British line afforded in the Huot painting would be almost impossible to make out today, due to buildings, etc. So, except for an overview of the promontory and some general idea of the distances involved, a viewer looking west from the ramparts cannot now really see Wolfe's battlefield.

¹⁰ *A View of the Landing Place above the Town of Quebec, describing the Assault of the Enemy's Post, on the Banks of the River St. Lawrence, with a Distant View of the Action between the British & French Armies, on the Hauteurs D'Abraham, Sept. 13th 1759*, published by Robert Sayer, London, c. 1760. Library and Archives Canada, MIKAN 3025706.

¹¹ *A View of the Taking of Quebec, September 13th 1759*, published by John Bowles, London, sometime after 1761. Library and Archives Canada, MIKAN 3019077.

accurately depicting the topography of the 1759 battlefield and surrounding features. While the topography of the battlefield had been significantly altered by 1900, a good portion remained.¹² By 1900, Huot could still observe a reasonable picture of how the promontory appeared in 1759, which he could then project backwards into the past by means of his extensive research into the contemporary plans of the battlefield.

In the foreground, a little distance beyond the walls of the city, we see the French Regulars, the *troupes de terre* in their white-grey coats, marching across the canvas right-to-left to confront the British. In the left centre of the canvas, we see the mighty St. Lawrence River, and in the extreme distance, the south shore. Following the river westward, but hidden from view, are the cliffs at the Anse au Foulon – the site of the British landing. Sweeping across to the extreme right of the canvas we can almost see the northern limit of the promontory, which opens onto the lower mainland. A major topographic feature is the Buttes-à-Neveu, a hill rising almost 50 feet (15 m) above the Plains and extending most of the way across the promontory, dominating the entire foreground of the canvas and obscuring the lower plain to the west where the main firefight took place. Here, on the summit of the Buttes, can be seen General Montcalm and his staff/aides surveying the British line of battle – this higher ground is clearly visible on a few of the contemporary maps. In the foreground on the far left, we can see the Grande-Allée, the east-west road to Sillery, which cuts through the trees to the left of the Buttes on its way from the St. Louis Gate. As the French battalions are shown streaming past the road, Huot must have assumed that the French had debouched from the Buttes by taking a route closer to the St. Lawrence. Interestingly, the British had deployed their two brass cannon, not discernible in the painting, on each side of this road as it intersected their main battle line. Huot clearly knew the position of this artillery, probably from plans provided by Doughty, and has interpreted its effect as forcing Montcalm to deploy his troops by a path closer to the river rather than the easier route, straight down that road.

In the middle distance, we see the red-coated British main battle line as it faces east towards Quebec, the line running in a slightly north-west direction approximately 5,000 feet (1.5 km) west of the St. Louis Gate. At this point the width of the promontory stretches from the cliffs on the St. Lawrence at the south, to the fall off of the promontory to the north, measuring about 4,500 feet (1.4 km) in length. Finally, in the far distance over to the right of the canvas, we can barely make out a white object, possibly a church steeple, but more likely the 33-

¹² Extensive modernization projects west of the city fortifications, including the construction of a large underground water reservoir between 1931 and 1933, has made the 1759 battlefield topography virtually disappear. Only a small portion remains – the present battlefield park next to the river. But even here, the topography has been significantly altered by modernization projects including the former Quebec City jail (which opened its doors in 1867), and later, the Musée National des Beaux-Arts du Québec. And in 2016, a new building, the Musée's Pierre Lassonde pavilion, has further altered the battlefield topography. The building is situated precisely where the 43rd Foot stood at 10am on 13 September 1759 – a stunning example of how not to preserve the integrity of a historic site.

foot (10 m) high Dumont Mill.¹³ Huot, conforming to these dimensions and topographic features, has presented the viewer with a most accurate visual depiction of the 1759 topography from his chosen point of view on the fortifications.¹⁴

To determine the approximate time of Huot's depiction on the morning of 13 September 1759, is not a simple task. Given the position of the French troops, many still marching southward from the Buttes, it must be sometime before 10am, the established time of the main clash between the two armies. It is known that French skirmishers (militia and native warriors) north of the British line were in position as early as 9:15am because there is good documentary evidence of the fire by the British *en potence* battalions (those formed at right angles to the main line), which had been posted on the extreme left flank. The musket flashes of these skirmishers can be seen at the extreme right of the canvas. Given the position of the French skirmishers, and the almost fully-developed British main battle line, the time selected by Huot is most likely between 9:30 and 9:45am. Later than this, the French battalions would have fully debouched from the Buttes and been positioned in their final attack formations approximately 1,600 feet (500 m) from the British main battle line.

Finally, what of the accuracy and placement of the British main battle line at this time? We can start by disregarding the pristine white gaiters worn by the British.¹⁵ That anomaly aside, the placement of the main battle line as a whole is very accurate, in terms of its location on the Plains.¹⁶ As for the number of battalions depicted on Huot's British main battle line, a careful inspection¹⁷ reveals nine separate formations, not including the *en potence* formation at the extreme left of the line (facing north and clearly not part of the main battle line). Huot's depiction of the British right flank also presents a problem when compared to the contemporary engineers' maps. Here, we see two distinct formations, one of which is slightly behind the other. Part of the formation 'to the rear' is facing east and therefore part of the main battle line, while part is facing south (*en potence*) towards the St. Lawrence where it would prevent Wolfe's flank being turned.

¹³ The Dumont farm had been purchased from the Jesuits in 1741 by a Quebec trader, Jean-Baptiste Dumond. The site included a stone manor house, a tannery and its fittings, a small adjoining house, a grange, and a stone mill. This complex of buildings would play a large role during the battle of Sainte-Foy in 1760.

¹⁴ For details of the measurements and topographic description of the Quebec promontory, see Earl J. Chapman & R. Paul Goodman, 'Quebec, 1759: Reconstructing Wolfe's Main Battle Line from Contemporary Evidence' (*JSAHR* 92, 2014), pp. 2-3 & 23. Hereafter, Chapman-Goodman, 'Reconstructing Wolfe's MBL'.

¹⁵ It is highly doubtful if the British Regulars wore white gaiters. Both the West and Penny paintings show black or dark brown 'marching gaiters', and this is what is usually referred to in contemporary documents (standing orders, etc.).

¹⁶ Earl J. Chapman & R. Paul Goodman, 'The Plains of Abraham, 1759: Where was the battle really fought?' (*Canadian Military Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Spring 2016), pp. 69-74.

¹⁷ This inspection utilized the high-resolution digital scan. The distance of the British line from the eye of the viewer, coupled with the impressionistic (or soft focus) style of the artist, would make this determination difficult if the digital scan was not employed.

At first glance, this nine-formation deployment was difficult to rationalize, in terms of the contemporary engineers' maps, which clearly show six battalions in the British main battle line (with additional formations deployed *en potence* on both the left and right flanks).¹⁸ After some analysis, it was realized that the majority of the contemporary maps show the situation at 10am. As we have previously determined, Huot's canvas shows the situation between 9:30 and 9:45am. However, there is a contemporary source that agrees somewhat with Huot's nine-formation depiction, and which definitely depicts an earlier stage of the battle.¹⁹ This is a rough, manuscript sketch executed by an anonymous participant and showing the British deployment sometime before 10am. This map shows an eastward facing formation on the British left flank (just to the right of the *en potence* formation), described on the sketch as, 'Grenadiers 2 Batt, R.A.' [2nd Battalion, Royal Americans]. It also shows two formations on the right flank, described as the '35th Regiment' and a detached 'Platoon of the 28th'. However, there is no other supporting evidence for the deployment of the 35th Foot in this fashion.

A few problems remain: (1) there is no sign of the two brass 6-pounder guns which British sailors had laboriously dragged up the Foulon path (and which would soon come into action with great effect);²⁰ (2) there is also no sign of Wolfe's Highlanders, the 78th Foot, as most of the British battalions are wearing gaiters – not one is wearing kilt and hose;²¹ (3) while Arthur Doughty mentions the 'rising ground ... in the rear' where Wolfe had anchored the right of his line, the authors find it difficult to make out this low rise, perhaps due to the distance of the British line from the eye of the viewer;²² and, (4) the majority of the British battalions are carrying their regimental colours. While it is known that Wolfe's battalions had their colours with them on the Quebec campaign,²³ it is not known if they carried them in the boats and up to the Plains of Abraham.

But of more significance with regard to historical accuracy, the British main battle line is correctly placed and spread out in the painting, albeit omitting certain battalion details.²⁴ The placing of the *en potence* formation to the left (north) of the

¹⁸ Chapman-Goodman, 'Reconstructing Wolfe's MBL', p. 10.

¹⁹ British Library, Add Ms 21686 f 81. Anonymous, undated, and without scale, it was originally found in the Haldimand Collection, so likely executed by an officer of the 2/60th Foot. See Chapman-Goodman, 'Reconstructing Wolfe's MBL', Appendix C, Cartobibliography, 6 (d); Plate 7, p. 59.

²⁰ Perhaps they were omitted because, at the scale utilized, they would be difficult to see, possibly confusing the issue. Or, perhaps the artist had determined that they would not add any historical significance to the scene he was trying to portray.

²¹ Perhaps Huot was not aware that the 78th (Fraser's Highlanders) were part of Wolfe's troops on the Plains, in fact they were the largest battalion on the main battle line. However, when he painted his impressive fresco, *Je me souviens*, on the ceiling of the legislative building in 1913, he included a Highlander scaling the cliffs on 13 September 1759.

²² Once known as 'Wolfe's Hill', it is now occupied by the Pavillon Baillairgé of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec.

²³ Chapman-Goodman, 'Reconstructing Wolfe's MBL', p. 27.

²⁴ 'Battalion details' means the separation between battalions, the size of each battalion, etc., all of which are highly suggestive in the painting and not strictly accurate.



'True Battlefield, Plains of Abraham'

photographed by E.S. Sargent, 1907

line is also accurately portrayed, as is the depiction of Wolfe's reserve battalion, well behind the main battle line. What can be questioned about the reserve battalion is its excessive length in the painting, given its known strength, and its position as shown on contemporary maps.²⁵ Finally, one can question the lack of trees and vegetation in places, particularly on the Buttes-à-Neveu, though these have probably been omitted in order to show Montcalm and his staff clearly.²⁶

The accuracy of Huot's depiction of the field is also endorsed by a photograph taken by Edmund S. Sargent a very few years after the completion of the painting. Sargent entitled the picture 'True Battlefield, Plains of Abraham'. The large

²⁵ The so-called 'Morning State Report' (TNA, CO 5/51, f.102) lists the 48th Foot, Wolfe's reserve, as 649 Rank and File. However, approximately 50 men had been detached to the Light Infantry, leaving the reserve at approximately 600 Rank and File.

²⁶ This perceived lack of trees and vegetation on the Buttes can be misleading. The viewer can only see the backside and top of the hill. The more important western slope, towards the British line, is not visible. This is where a recent historian describes the trees and bushes as 'a tangled nightmare for soldiers on the move'. See, D. Peter MacLeod, *Northern Armageddon: The Battle of the Plains of Abraham* (Vancouver, Toronto, 2008), p. 156.

building with the tower was the Quebec City Gaol, which opened its doors in 1867, much to the chagrin of those who wanted to keep the battlefield pristine. The house on the cliff edge with the square tower and a pale-coloured dome was the Quebec Observatory, which had been relocated to the Plains of Abraham in 1864. The river view on the left clearly shows Wolfe's Cove. Unfortunately, the photograph does not show Wolfe's Monument, as it was located just behind the Gaol, although the access road to the Monument (lined with trees) can be seen just to the right of that building.

Conclusions

To summarize, Huot's painting accurately positions the troops on a very good rendition of the 1759 topography, giving the observer of this fine work of art a highly authentic historical reconstruction. His keen eye and prodigious research reflect his great care in the depiction of the topography of the battlefield in 1759. The picture presents a fascinating and unique perspective.

ELIZABETH DIGBY PILOT: MEMOIR OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OFFICER'S WIFE DURING HIS SERVICE IN NORTH AMERICA

PART I

MICHELLE ARENTSEN & JENNINE HURL-EAMON

As the wife of a British Army officer stationed in Florida before the American Revolution, the memoir of Elizabeth Digby Pilot (1742-1826) has much insight to offer into British military history and the social dynamics in British North American garrison towns. Elizabeth Pilot was the daughter of a minister of the Church of Ireland. She was a pious woman and her devotion to God was apparent throughout the memoir. Elizabeth's father, Reverend Benjamin Digby, disapproved of the union between his daughter and Henry Pilot. She ran away with Henry and they married in secret on 4 February 1762, at Kilmalogue House in Portarlinton. The disapproval of her father and her subsequent disinheritance became a source of recurrent emotional turmoil for Elizabeth; this pain is very evident in the memoir.

Both the memoir and Henry Pilot's army career suggest that he was a well-respected officer. At the time of his retirement from the army (c. 1781), he had achieved the rank of Captain in the 31st Regiment of Foot, and had received several other marks of preferment from superior officers at different times during his service. His father, Dr. Joshua Pilot, was descended from Huguenots who settled in Portarlinton after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Dr. Pilot was a surgeon in Batereau's Regiment of Foot, from 1742 until it was disbanded in 1748.¹ Prior to his courtship of Elizabeth, Henry Pilot was friendly with her brothers, two of whom also became officers. Elizabeth Pilot's brother, William Digby, was a Lieutenant in the 53rd Regiment of Foot during the 1776-1777 campaigns in Canada and left a diary that was eventually published in 1887. It confirms that Henry Pilot was his brother-in-law, and speaks very well of him.² Elizabeth's memoir also gives several examples of Henry's reputation in the Army for conscientious attention to his duty and the marks of favour that he received in consequence of it, such as his securing the appointment as Fort Major at Pensacola and having Colonel Oughton stand as godparent to his daughter.

Despite its wealth of historical detail of the type that accounts by men would not mention, few scholars have used this document. Most attention has come from scholars

¹ L. Pielou, 'Letters to an Army Surgeon', *North Irish Roots* Vol. 10, No. 2, 1999, p. 24, and The National Archives (United Kingdom) – hereafter TNA – Army List 1765, WO 65/3.

² J.P. Baxter, *The British Invasion from the North: The Campaigns of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne from Canada, 1776-1777, with the Journal of Lieut. William Digby, of the 53rd Regiment of Foot* (Albany NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1887). More will be said of this in Part II of this article.

of early Florida, particularly Deborah L. Bauer of the University of South Florida.³ Elizabeth Digby Pilot's manuscript has great interest for historians of the British Army when it was serving in far-flung parts of the newly-acquired empire. Apart from anything else, its extreme rarity as a woman's view of garrison life in a colonial station gives it great value. The following excerpt describes the relationships between the army and indigenous people and comments on officers' wives using slaves in 1760s North America. Mrs. Pilot's description of the latter shows the influence of the abolitionist movement, which made her express some guilt and regret later in life over her conduct as a slave-owner. The memoir also reinforces existing knowledge of the lack of piety and morality among some officers and the diseases encountered in remote postings. At the same time, Elizabeth's portrayal of her husband shows him to be a model of the masculine sensibility visible among certain noteworthy officers in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic war period.⁴ Its insights into the domestic lives of officers and their wives' influence on regimental discipline reflect Catriona Kennedy's contention of Napoleonic era wives as 'agents of sociability, dutiful help-meets, and dispensers of benevolence.'⁵

The memoir of Elizabeth Digby Pilot (1742-1826) is held at the Bath Record Office. The entire work is written in the same hand, including the afterword written by Elizabeth Pilot's daughter, Judith Henrietta, after her mother's death. As stated in the first page of the memoir, Elizabeth wrote the original version for her daughter, who requested a narrative of her parents' lives. Judith was the fourth child, born to the Pilots in 1770 during the eighth year of their marriage. It is likely that the 'Bath' manuscript was copied from the original version. It includes a few passages where a sentence has been repeated verbatim, as if the copyist forgot that it had already been written (e.g. f. 61-62). This version of the memoir contains a few editorial changes in pencil as well, which have been implemented in this excerpt, and original spelling and punctuation have been retained. Elizabeth's manuscript seems to have been written in the early 1800s, but its inclusion of very specific details—such as the temperature at Pensacola being 99¾ degrees in 1765 (f. 49)—suggests that she wrote with the aid of a diary and copies of old letters that had been written to her siblings during that time. The following excerpt begins at folio 32 of the manuscript when Elizabeth had left the regiment for quieter

³ See, for example, D.L. Bauer, '...In a strange place...': The Experiences of British Women during the Colonization of East & West Florida,' *The Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 89, No. 2 (Fall 2010), pp.145-185; D.L. Bauer, 'Chasing the Faces of Florida's Colonial Ladies: A Brief Memoir on Assembling Primary Source Material for the Study of Gender and Sexuality in the British Floridas, 1763-1784,' in *Florida Studies: Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Florida College English Association*, eds. Claudia Slate and Keith Huneycutt (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 119-134; and D.L. Bauer, 'Elizabeth Pilot, Autobiography,' *Early Visions of Florida: A History of the Imagination*, University of South Florida St. Petersburg, http://earlyfloridalit.net/?page_id=444.

⁴ See S. Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), pp. 153-194; J. Hurl-Eamon, 'Habits of Seduction: Accounts of Portuguese Nuns in British Officers' Peninsular War Memoirs,' *The Historical Journal* Vol. 58, No. 3 (2015), pp. 733-56; and J. Hurl-Eamon, 'Youth in the Devil's Service, Manhood in the King's: Reaching Adulthood in the eighteenth-century British Army,' *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring 2015), pp. 174-183.

⁵ C. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: military and civilian experience in Britain and Ireland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 152.

accommodations in which to give birth to her first child, Catherine Mary, born at Fareham, England, in 1764.

We returned to Hilsea Barracks in March. The end of the month the Regiment was ordered to America! This indeed was a blow to be so far removed from my father & my country. But I would not, could not remain, and allow my husband to go alone. Again I wrote to my Father in the most pathetic terms, stating the probability that I might never return, and beseeching him not to allow me to quit Europe unforgiven! It would not do. Doctor P[ilot]⁶ wrote to say, that if I wished to remain at home he would be happy to receive me and my child.⁷ But I declined. I had good health, a naturally cheerful disposition, and I knew my husband would be unhappy were I to remain. It appeared to be my path of duty, and I was resolved. Before we left England, the Adjutant of the Reg^t⁸ was to quit the service, and offered to sell the Adjutancy to my husband. Our income being very small, this would have been a desirable acquisition, but where were we to get the money 300£? I wrote to my friends in Ireland. They stated this matter to my Father, who immediately lodged the money for us. This was joyful news, tho' we were not permitted to benefit by it, for the Officer who wished to sell it, was not allowed to do so. We were in hopes, my Father would not withdraw this money, but he did so, saying that should a similar offer be made, he would again give it. Sir A[dolphus]:O[ughton]:⁹ joined the Regiment at Hilsea. It was his wish to be our friend, and previous to my confinement, he suggested the idea of procuring for me the situation of nurse, to one of the children of their Majesties, as this would secure for me the royal patronage, and become very advantageous, by insuring me an Income for life. But I declined this offer. Sir A[dolphus] O[ughton] was a personal favourite with our good King, and he farther told me, that as I was going to a country, where the plumage of the birds, was very beautiful, and had a taste for fancy works, if I would attempt any thing of the kind, he would present it to the Queen.¹⁰ This I never did accomplish.

In the middle of May, our Reg^t the 31st, as also the 21st, sailed from Portsmouth for America with a fine wind. Our destination was Pensacola West Florida.

⁶ Dr. Joshua Pilot, Elizabeth's father-in-law.

⁷ Elizabeth Pilot's first child was Catherine Mary. She was born in Fareham, England in 1764 and died at Pensacola in 1765. Bauer, 'In a strange place', p. 154.

⁸ TNA, Army List 1764, WO 65/14 gives Lt William Cornish as the Adjutant.

⁹ James Adolphus Oughton, Colonel of the 31st Foot since 1762. TNA, Army List, WO 65/12.

¹⁰ These "works" were likely either ornithology illustrations or collages that used the feathers to represent flowers in the style made popular by Mary Delany.

Our little Fleet consisted of 10 ships. Both Reg^{ts} were in high health and spirits. If it had not been for the painful consideration of my Father's displeasure, I could have been happy with one of the best of husbands, and a precious Infant all that heart could desire. Six of our Officers were married, and their wives accompanied them in this expedition to explore that new Country, which had been given up by the Spaniards to the English in the Peace of ____.¹¹ Our Society on board was good, and after a prosperous voyage of 9 weeks we arrived in July. What words can I find to describe to you the horror we felt on the appearance of Pensacola! The Harbour is a fine one. We got near the Town, anchored, longing to disembark, and breathe a freer air, than we could on board a Ship. But Alas! Where were we to go? The Garrison, (as it was called) was filled with the shattered remains of the 35th Reg^t,¹² which had suffered severely during the War, and had gone to Pensacola to be relieved by troops from Europe. It was our unhappy fate to do this. What a contrast was presented between our fine healthy blooming men, and the poor emaciated soldiers of the 35th! Nor was this more striking than the joy they expressed at the prospect of going home, and the feelings of sorrow our men experienced at the wretched place they had come to.

The Town consisted of an old Spanish house at one end, occupied by Mr Johnstone¹³ who was then Governor of the province, and three other houses inferior to it. These were all that could be called houses, as the rest were miserable huts covered with Palmettos.

It was determined that our Regiment should encamp, while the 35th were quitting the Garrison, and embarking on board the transports. The Ground was marked a quarter of a Mile from this miserable Town. The impropriety of Females being in the Camp, induced the married Officers to seek some accommodation for their wives in the Town. Happily there

¹¹ Pilot was referring to The Treaty of Paris signed on 10.2.1763 ending the Seven Years War. Great Britain had captured the Spanish island of Cuba and returned it in exchange for control over the Florida territory.

¹² R. Trimmen, *An Historical Memoir of the 35th Royal Sussex Regiment of Foot* (Southampton: 1873), 46, states that the regiment returned to England in the autumn of 1765, and cites the *Scots Magazine* from January, 1766, as an indication that 'it had evidently suffered greatly in Florida from disease.' The magazine said that of a thousand men in the regiment at its departure from England, it numbered only forty on its return.

¹³ Governor George Johnstone, first British Governor of West Florida. He arrived on 21.10.1764 and was responsible for instituting a civil government and ending the military regime. His administration was often at odds with the military command of the region. Finally, in February 1767, Johnstone was dismissed and Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne took his place. J. Barton Starr, *Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida* (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1976), pp. 9-17.

was a Gentleman, a Mr. McLellan, secretary of the province¹⁴ who had a house large and airy, close to the sea side, and open to the sea breeze, which in that country is absolutely necessary. We were most hospitably received and entertained by this Gentleman.

And now my dear H[enrietta] you will find your Mother in a distant land, away from every European comfort—a stranger in a strange Country, under the weight of a Parents displeasure, subject to every trial of Climate, a limited Income, and with feelings of painful recollection.

Oh had you known my early indulgence, where every comfort, every luxury was mine, you would know how to appreciate the change. But on the other hand, God had given me much to be thankful for, and Oh how much more than I deserved. An excellent constitution, good spirits, a sense of the superintending providence of God a beloved affectionate Husband universally esteemed—a child of much promise—and moderate desires.

We suffered much from the heat, and other causes. Vermin &c infested the place, a constant smell proceeded from a disagreeable weed which overrun the ground.¹⁵ The reflection of the sun on the white sand was painful to the Eyes. There was nothing agreeable to relieve the prospect. The Soil was barren, and not a Blade of Grass was to be seen. But in the swampy grounds up the Country, the tall Pines came quite close to the Town, and the wood was so thick and high, that a free air could not penetrate. Therefore had it not been for the Sea Breeze, it would have been impossible for us to have existed. That generally began to blow about ten O'clock in the morning, and continued till sunset, when it died away. The heat during the night was intolerable. There were no stairs in the house, or in any house except the Governors. There were as many windows and doors as could be contrived to admit the air, no glass in the windows, shaded Piazzas round the house to keep off the sun, and the Kitchen at a small distance.¹⁶ There were no white people resident at the place, except a few fishermen, a remnant of the Spaniards who had

¹⁴ It seems likely that this was Lt Alexander Maclellan of the 34th Foot on whose behalf bills were drawn by Gov Johnstone in January 1767 to pay him as 'as Fort Major at Pensacola' – TNA, Treasury Papers, TNA, T 1/458, ff. 94-96. The Haldimand Collection contains a letter dated Pensacola, 30.11.1767 that expressed frustration at being unable to get an 'account from Lt. McLellan, the Barrack Master, who ought to be tried by Court Martial' – See Douglas Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives*, (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1885), pp. 31-32. John W. Shy, *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1965), p. 286, cites correspondence between Haldimand and Lt. Col. Robertson from 1768 that mentions 'Mr. McLellan, barrackmaster for West Florida'.

¹⁵ This may be *Paederia foetida* (Sewer Vine or Skunk Vine), though it was native to Asia and its presence in Florida can only be traced with certainty back to the early twentieth century. Gil Nelson, *The Shrubs and Woody Vines of Florida: A Reference and Field Guide* (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1996), 302-303.

¹⁶ This presumably refers to the verandas and summer kitchens common to colonial architecture.

formerly been there. White people could not have borne the heat, whilst engaged in any laborious employment.

A few gentlemen who held public situations, and amongst these a Mr B[lackwell]¹⁷ waited on us. Mr B[lackwell] apologized for his Wife's being prevented calling on me, by some slight indisposition. Every thing I had seen so disgusted me, that I felt little regret at not seeing this Lady. My Husband, my child, and the Society of our Regiment, was all that I cared about, and I thought no more of her, rather hoping she would not call on me [...] How little was I prepared for the introduction of Mrs B[lackwell], when a few days after she came to visit me. She was about my own age, a remarkably fine looking woman, full of animation, of the most fascinating manners. She appeared to me one of the most pleasing women I had ever seen. My Ideas of her before we met heightened my admiration, and she seemed almost to blaze upon me as a Superior being. I became anxious to please her, and our hearts soon owned a kindred sympathy. A friendship was formed, which ended but with life, and in her I found solace under many a sorrow. To you too my dear H[enrietta], she has extended that friendship which cheered your mother in a foreign land. From this day, we were constantly together. She had her domestic trials, while I had distant ones. My lovely child in the bloom of health and spirits, now 8 months old, was the delight of everyone, and round this earthly Idol, I twined with fond anticipations, often contemplating her as a little harbinger of peace, whom my Father could not resist, were I allowed to place her in his Arms. We had not been long at Pensacola, when a malignant fever¹⁸ broke out amongst our men, and spread throughout the Town, sweeping off all ranks, men women and Children.

The Scenes that followed were dreadful. The Fort was crowded, and Death made daily Havoc. Not there alone, in the Camp it was still worse, for being near a Marsh, the disease became more fatal. Our situation was more airy, and we used every precaution to prevent infection. We were in want of many necessaries. The sick had no Milk, but that of Goats, which was scarce—no vegetables, bad provisions—mostly salt meat—a scarcity of Poultry &c

We had brought with us from England, a fine Milch Cow, but she soon died for want of good feeding. We procured a little fresh Beef sometimes which was very poor (only being fit for broth) and this would not keep many hours from the intense heat of the Climate. Fish was plenty, but it was necessary to use it immediately on being taken.

¹⁷ On page 42 of the manuscript 'Blackwell' is inserted in pencil with this name, but little else can be found to identify him. Bauer, "In a strange place," 178, identified his wife as Rebecca Blackwell, but did not give any clue as to his forename.

¹⁸ This was the Yellow Fever epidemic that killed an estimated 131 people in Pensacola in 1765. W.M. Straight, 'The Yellow Jack,' *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* Vol. 58, No. 8 (1971), p. 43.

The increase of illness, deprived the sick of proper attendance, and many sunk under it, from this circumstance. It was common for a soldier to drop down dead at his post, from a stroke of the Sun; and at the Hospital, frequently a dead man lay between two living, no one being at hand to remove them.

At first our Deputy Chaplain¹⁹ continue[d] to read the Funeral service over the Dead, but he soon fell a Victim to this sort of plague. Coffins could not be got to bury the Dead. One was procured, which was called the Orderly Coffin. This conveyed a Body from the Hospital or elsewhere to the burying ground, and when it was deposited there, returned for another, and so on. Death was so familiar, that we met our friends with sad countenances, expecting to hear of some new victim. I looked upon my Husband and Child with terror. Were I to lose Him! The thought was dreadful, away from my home, and under a Father's frown! No support but my Husband's Pay, what would become of me? Then were I taken, who would be a nurse to my sweet Infant? A Mother's heart shrunk!

To lodge her in Heaven, I should have considered would be best for her, but the pang that tears from a Mother, her first and only child, is not consoled by Reason. I will not however detain you by anticipation. Sad Realities will claim your tears. Even in the house with me, the groans of the Dying met our ears. I would not dwell too minutely on these scenes. The Remembrance will ever press on my mind. In the space of a Month from the time we arrived, out of six Ladies, the Wives [of] our Officers, one only besides myself survived. She had had the Illness, and had got over its violence, so it was hoped would do well. But Alas! She relapsed, and was early taken to the Grave. I remained alone. My treasures too were safe. My Spirits had naturally sunk. Judge then of my feelings, when my beloved Husband was attacked. In an Agony of mind not to be described, I watched over him night and day. My fatigue was great. I was nursing my Babe, and had no female Servant, those I formerly had, having been removed by Death. A Gentleman lent me a Negro Woman in the Day, but my nights were dreadful. My Husband in a high Fever, quite delirious in one bed, and my Child in a little Bed I had contrived, so that I was between her Father and her. My Milk of course became injured, yet still I nourished my precious Infant. I never took off my Clothes, and feeling at times worn out, have thrown myself in an agony of grief on the Bed, scarcely knowing what to think; but a stronger power than my own supported me, and the Almighty preserved me, and enabled me to go through all my trials. It was now I felt the full weight of my disobedience! Now I felt my punishment just! Now I prayed for pardon,

¹⁹ TNA, Army Lists 1765 & 1766, WO 65/15 & /16 give the Chaplain of the 31st as Edward Bromhead, though as Mrs Pilot mentions a 'deputy' he appears to have inserted a replacement.

and now longed to be pressed to a Father's heart!

My Husband gradually recovered from the Fever. But weakness and Delirium continued some time. His Reason was just fully restored, when my turn came. I tried to keep up as long as possible. But nature was exhausted, and I was carried to bed fainting. I remained six days in bed, in a high Fever, but happily my senses never left me. My Darling Child engrossed much of my thoughts. My Husband procured a Soldier to take care of her, and those of the Officers who were left, were all anxious to assist. Her sweet temper had won on all. Weak as was my Husband, he was an excellent nurse to me. He got a woman from the Hospital, at a very high price for a few hours every day. The Almighty had blessed me with a good constitution, and willed yet to spare me. Oh how great was his goodness, in not taking from me my protector, my tender Husband.

My dear Friend Mrs B[lackwell], had been prevented being with me, from her Confinement. She too had had the Fever. Her Infant died in a few days after its birth. But my friend too was spared to me. I will give you some idea of the Infection, and Illness that raged, when I tell you that Gen^l Bouquet arrived as Brigadier Gen^l of the District.²⁰ He was a man much beloved, who had distinguished himself in the late American War. He brought with him, several Officers who were to hold publick stations, and a large retinue. He was advised to use precautions, but he said that he had long been accustomed to the Climate, and feared not. Alas! Death is no respecter of persons; in a few days he too was a Corpse!

I slowly recovered, though very weak. My Child had escaped the Fever hitherto, but now began to droop. Nursing her, had been supposed to be useful to me, but most probably, my feverish milk injured her. Cutting her teeth, added to her having been weaned, was too much for her. She did not die suddenly, but she was attacked by a lingering illness, which for many weeks, wasted her pretty frame. Her Father and I, alternately carried her in our arms, and watched her sufferings. It was too much for me, and I became very ill. It pleased God to release this innocent Being. A sort of victim, she seemed of my disobedience. My grief and weakness, produced delerium for many hours. My poor afflicted husband, was thus torn by anxiety for me, and sorrow for his Infant. He was himself very weak. Desirous of shewing every attention possible to the Remains of this loved Child, he procured a Coffin for her, placed her in it, and getting a soldier to carry it, went himself to deposit her in the earth, and read over the Burial Service. Thus sorrow bore heavily upon us. My little Comforter was taken. A Blank was felt, and though I again slowly recovered, it was to weakness and depression. But Sorrow for the Dead, was diverted by new anxiety for my husband. He appeared very delicate. His exposure to cold, whilst attending on me and the dear Babe, brought

²⁰ Brig Gen Henry Bouquet arrived in Pensacola on 24.8.1765 and was dead within thirteen days.

on a Cough, which he did not get rid of for a length of time. His recovery was much accelerated by going on board a man of war, then in the Harbour, commanded by a most Agreeable man, the Hon^{ble} Cap^{tn} M[urray],²¹ and here commenced a friendship, which ever after continued, and was extended to my Children. The Officer I before attended to, as wishing to sell his Adjutancy, had lost his wife, and completely disgusted, resolved to give up the Service and return home.²² He again offered the purchase to my Husband, and as I have told you my Father had promised to give the money. Of course we accepted it, and this addition to our Income, made us very comfortable, as far as money was concerned.

The Fever abated in the Town and Camp, but those who were spared, continued delicate through the Winter. Our Society was much diminished by the losses in our Reg^t, and excepting Mrs B[lackwell], I had few female acquaintances. Our Officers were an agreeable set, and were all attentive. My Spirits long continued depressed, and many tears did I shed over the early loss of my child, and my home recollections, but Duty to my Husband, made me exert myself.

As Time lessens every affliction, so I became more cheerful. Indeed the Consciousness that my sorrows were less than I deserved, & my mercies more, made me submit to the will of God. Our Situation as to religious advantages was deplorable. I have said that our Chaplain died. His place was not supplied. There was no Clergyman in the Province and no public worship. The Sabbath was not regarded, and Alas! Together with the Forms, the Reality of Religion vanished. Vice prevailed; there were few virtuous women in the place, and Alas! Too many Officers chose to have others to preside at their Tables. This was most painful to me, as it prevented my visiting them & my Husband being obliged to keep well with his brother Officers, I had only to appear ignorant, when we received them at our own house.

Such are the trials to which a delicate woman is exposed in a Military life. My dear Husband was a man of the most refined Sentiments, and with my own guarded manner, I was ever sure to meet with respect. I wrote constantly to my Father imploring his pity. I had the melancholy pleasure to hear that he was much affected by my letters, and tho' he would not write himself, he permitted my second brother to do so.

I should have told you that we moved from Mr M[cLellan']^s house, as soon as we could procure one for ourselves. It was a wretched one. During the intense heat of the Summer, the inconveniences of our abode

²¹ The memoir later (f. 115) disclosed the ship's name as the *Ferret*, the log of which indicates that its captain was George Murray – See TNA, ADM 52/1232. D. Lyon, *The Sailing Navy List. All the Ships of the Royal Navy – Built, Captured or Purchased, 1688-1860* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1993), p. 94 indicates that the *Ferret* was a sloop armed with 14 Six Pounders and 12 swivel guns. She was not, strictly speaking, a Man-of-War.

were of less consequence, but as winter advanced, we were in a sad state. We could not procure Workmen to repair our dwelling, as the few who were in Pensacola, were employed in the public works. Yet we met with much assistance from our friends and brother Officers which (with the feeling that we had so lately been relieved from severe illness, and our health now much recovered) tended to lessen our present grievances; for by comparison they were light. After suffering from the unclemency of the Weather, we at length got Workmen to repair our house. It was only to consist of two rooms, and we occupied one, while the other was repairing. The Kitchen and out Offices were in the yard at a little distance. Our Rooms were soon made more comfortable, but at first we had often been awakened in the night by the Rain pouring in on us, and had been obliged to drag our bedding from one corner of the room, to another more sheltered. Soon after Christmas Mr & Mrs B[lackwell] went to New Orleans to the carnival, merely for amusement. They wished us to accompany them, but tho' my Spirits were much recovered, I had no heart to enjoy dissipation, in addition to which my Husband's time was fully occupied. I lamented the absence of my friend, but in two months she returned.

Gen^l Gage, at this time Commander of the District,²³ was a great friend of Doctor P[il]^o[t], and was anxious to be of use to us should any opening occur, and such did offer ere long, but accompanied with circumstances of a trying nature. As I think it speaks much to the honour of my Husband, you will like to hear the particulars. Mr M[cLellan]²⁴ who had so kindly received us into his house, was Fort Major, and Barrack Master, to which he had been appointed by the Governor of Pensacola, but these being Military situations to which Col Walsh conceived he had the right of appointment, he immediately superseded our friend Mr M[cLellan].²⁵ This causing some dispute, Gen^l Gage was applied to. Col Walsh named my Husband to fill these situations. You may suppose the advantage to us, from such an increase of Income. But my Husband could not bear the idea of supplanting any man, much less one from whom he had received kindness. He therefore refused, and at the same time expostulated with Col Walsh. His superseding Mr M[cLellan], arose from some pique. He was resolute and appointed another to act till Gen^l Gage's opinion was known. My Husband was highly esteemed for this conduct. He happily kept on good terms both with the Governor and the Military party. Disputes ran high between

²² TNA, Army List 1766, WO 65/16 contains a handwritten note recording 'L^t Hen: Pilott' taking the Adjutancy as of 13.2.1766.

²³ Gen. Thomas Gage was commander-in-chief for North America from 1763 to 1773.

²⁴ See note 14.

²⁵ TNA, Army List 1766, WO 65/16 – Ralph Walsh was lieutenant-colonel of the 31st Regiment from 25.4. 1765.

them, and Gen^l Gage's decision was anxiously looked for. There were many displaced from their employments by interference. Those who held civil places, had a difficult part to act, and some retired and went to England.²⁶ While these disputes were going on, my Husband received an official letter from Gen^l Gage, enclosing him the commission for the two places of Fort Major and Barrack Master. He said he was glad of an opportunity of rewarding a man who had acted so disinterested a part. This gave general satisfaction, and Mr M[cLellan] himself rejoiced, as of course his dismissal was inevitable.

Our Income was now Comfortable! Our health restored! We were seasoned to the Climate, and we might be said to be happy, but for that sad thorn which still festered in my wounded heart. I fear I often murmured, when my heart should have been full of grateful praise. The Spring passed without any matters of consequence occurring, except that my comfort was much promoted, by obtaining an excellent French woman for my own maid. She was faithful, honest and respectable. We had men to cook, and do everything we wanted in the house, therefore this woman was a great comfort to me. The manner I got her was as follows. Above 200 French Protestants had been sent by our Government to the Province of West Florida, for the purpose of propagating Vines and Silk Worms, and to establish a Colony wherever the Governor should choose.²⁷ There was a Clergyman²⁸ with them, who was to keep a School and receive a Salary from Government. These poor people arrived in April, and till their destination was determined, they lived in wretched huts, where they suffered much inconvenience and distress. From these people I selected the above mentioned woman, who continued with me 2 years. She had a husband and a little boy. The former set about building a house for them, and the latter we took with his mother. The place fixed for their residence, was in the country, about 15 miles from Pensacola. The situation was beautiful, near the River Scambrie.²⁹ There was however little variety to diversify the scenery. There were indeed fine

²⁶ Although they do not mention this particular dispute, the widespread tension Pilot described has been well-documented in C. E. Carter, 'The Beginnings of British West Florida,' *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* Vol. 4, No. 3 (Dec. 1917), pp.314-41; C. N. Howard, 'Governor Johnstone in West Florida,' *Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 17, No. 4 (1939), pp. 281-303; Starr, *Tories, Dons, and Rebels*, 12-15; and Robert Right Rea, *Major Robert Farman of Mobile* (Mobile: University of Alabama Press, 1990), esp. 81-112.

²⁷ The British Board of Trade permitted the establishment of the French Huguenot settlement of Campbell Town in 1765 under the command of Lt Gov Montfort Browne. As Pilot asserts, the colonists grew grapes and raised silkworms. The endeavour was supported financially, and with land grants, by the British Board of Trade and Governor Johnstone. J. Barton Starr, 'Campbell Town: French Huguenots in British West Florida', *The Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 54, No. 4 (April, 1976), pp. 533-537.

²⁸ Pilot is probably referring to Reverend Peter Levrier, a pastor that travelled from England to the Campbell Town settlement. Starr, 'Campbell Town', p. 535.

²⁹ The Escambia River. Bauer, 'In a strange place', p. 177.

Trees, fine flower shrubs, and the River. But the marshy grounds made it unhealthy, and these poor people suffered so severely, that by the ensuing summer, those who survived had fled to different places. Thus in a few months the whole scheme was defeated, and the Colony destroyed.³⁰ Several of their houses were half built, as those who escaped death, had not the courage to pursue their first intention, and by thus giving it up, forfeited all right to any support, and were reduced to great poverty, till death swept most of them away. Campletown was the name of the place. We made a party in the summer to see it, and were pleased with the situation, but affected for the wretched sufferers. Our friend Cap^m M[urray] who commanded the _____ Man of War,³¹ and was ever a delightful acquisition to our parties, took us in his barge (a party of 13) and had another boat for our provisions, Domestic Tents &c.

Mr and Mrs B[lackwell] were of the party, and we enjoyed a pleasant week, having two tents, pitched, which we removed from place to place, as we successively visited some of the Indian Settlements on the River Scambie. Several of our party were musical. They brought their Instruments, which with my Guitar, and our voices, gave us pleasant Concerts. The Gentlemen brought us plenty of Game and Fish. I must here make a little digression to give you some account of the wild Indians, as they were our constant visitors, both at Pensacola, and on this excursion, the Creeks and Chactaws³² in particular. They had held the Spaniards in detestation, but were fond of the English. They had come to Pensacola constantly for presents, and received them from stores of Gun-Powder, Ball, Blankets, Paint, Toys &c which had been purposely provided. Occasionally they were very troublesome to us, coming in great numbers. I have seen 300 of them at a time. They brought us venison and wild Fowl for which they sometimes were given money, but preferred rum, which they would drink to excess. We used to mix it with water, as it is a horrid sight to see an Indian drunk, for they howl and tumble about, and would be very mischievous, but their wives on these occasions, steal from them all weapons, whereby they might injure themselves or others. In time of peace, they are employed in ornamenting their persons. All laborious work they leave to the women, as is ever the case in uncivilized Society.

But to return. My Husband one evening having purchased some venison from an Indian, brought him to our little Camp. The man was so pleased that he did not wish to leave us. He was an elderly person brother

³⁰ While the exact reason why and when Campbell Town was abandoned remains unclear, historians assert that by 1770 the town was deserted. Starr, 'Campbell Town', pp. 546-547.

³¹ See note 21.

³² When the British arrived at Pensacola, the Choctaws and Creeks were the most prominent indigenous nations in the region. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution*, (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975), pp. 12-13.

to the Wolf King,³³ a Creek, who was so delighted with my Guitar, that he would sit at my feet, whilst I played and sung for any length of time. He staid with us the 2 days we continued there and was quite affected on taking leave. We returned home at the end of a Week. After the death of Gen^l Bouquet, Lieut^t Col^l Taylor of the 9th Reg^t, was appointed Brigadier Gen^l for the Southern District.³⁴ His wife Mrs Taylor, was a most worthy woman, and a great acquisition to our Society. She was elderly, of a sweet disposition, and in many respects was like a Mother to me. She was doubly valuable to me, as my friend M^{rs} B[lackwell] was about to visit England.

At this time there were great rumours, that the Indians were displeased with something and were meditating a war with us. The Creeks and Chactaws (the two nearest nations to us) were at war with one another. They both came to us for Powder and Ball, which we were obliged to give them in Self defence, as they threatened us, and we wished to keep peace with them.

The Weather had become extremely hot (the Thermometer 99°). The Fort being small, and high Stockades intercepting the Air, we suffered much. We were made uneasy by some apprehensions of a war with Spain so that altogether we were not very comfortable, but having been much seasoned to the Climate, tho' relaxed by the heat, we had not any sickness. My friend M^{rs} B[lackwell] had sailed for England, but promised to return with her husband and this consoled me.

No forgiveness arrived from my beloved Father! However I had letters from my dear Brother. He said that my Father had been affected to tears, by the accounts of my sufferings, and that he appeared much softened. He sent me a Present of 40£ to which my Mother added 20£. The money was acceptable, but that it came from my Parents, constituted its Chief value. I hailed it as a Prelude to forgiveness, and a blessing. I of course wrote gratefully, and much as he affected. This 60£ enabled me to purchase a Negro Girl, whom I greatly needed, as the White people, were so ill able to bear the heat of the fire. She was about 14 years of age, and my kind M^{rs} Taylor allowed her to learn cooking and washing from an experienced black woman in her service. My poor Emma (for such I called her) was tractable and mild, and I became attached to her. I endeavoured to teach her her prayers, and to make her understand her

³³ Mortar, also called Yahatastanage or 'Wolf King' by his clansmen. Born around 1718, Mortar was the leader of the Creek Nation's Bear Clan at Ockchai. He was murdered in 1777 during an ambush by the Choctaws. L. Sauls, 'Mortar, an 18th-Century Leader of the Bear Clan in the Creek Nation, Was Known as the 'Wolf King' *Wild West* Vol. 11, No. 5 (February 1999), p. 58.

³⁴ TNA, Army List 1766, WO 65/16 indicates that William Taylor was Lt Col of the 9th Foot from 1763, with the Army rank of colonel by 1765. He served as acting Brigadier General in Pensacola until Brig Gen Frederick Haldimand arrived in 1767. C.N. Howard, 'Colonial Pensacola: The British Period, Part II,' *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1941), p. 182.

moral duties, but I have since reproached myself that I did not do more. She was as it were entrusted to me, as is every slave to their proprietors, and doubtless we shall have to account for those so committed to us.

Alas! how awful to account when enquiry is made, how we have led ignorant souls to know their saviour and their God. But this responsibility, and the extent of God's requirements, I did not then appreciate, as I have since been brought to do.

Many Removals and military changes took place. The Winter passed on, and our little Society, endeavoured to be as sociable as possible. My health had not been good, and I had the prospect of again being a Mother. We had frequent visits from the French and Spanish Officers from New Orleans. I will here mention an affair relative to that place which much interested us. New Orleans had been for many years a Settlement belonging to the French.³⁵ The Inhabitants were fond of it and considered themselves to be fixed there. Many families were affluent, and enjoyed ease and tranquility. They were inured to the Climate. Their Ideas reached no farther than their own limits. New Orleans was all the world to them. They possessed the necessities, and the comforts of life, and enjoyed Society amongst themselves. We had occasional intercourse with them, and were on the most friendly terms. They supplied us with many sorts of provisions, both of their own produce, and what they received from France. Mons^r Obray³⁶ was their Governor, who had long been there, and was a man universally beloved. On the General Peace, the French Government ceded New Orleans to the Spaniards, who were to send a Governor to supersede Mons^r Obray. This was a severe stroke to the inhabitants who detested the Spaniards. The consternation was great. The most of them declared, they would not submit to the Spanish yoke.³⁷ They even offered the English at Pensacola, that if they would defend them, from the Spaniards, they would submit to us. We were obliged to reject this offer, as we could not act against the Spaniards. We felt much for these poor people. The Court of Spain, sent the new Governor Don

³⁵ New Orleans was founded by the French in 1718.

³⁶ Charles Philippe Aubry, the last French Governor of New Orleans before the arrival of the Spanish.

³⁷ In the Treaty of Paris of 1763, the French ceded their North American colonies to Spain and Britain. The Spanish gained possession of Louisiana but did not ratify the Treaty until 1766. On 5.3.1766 Governor Antonio de Ulloa arrived at New Orleans and began to transfer the colony's rule to the Spanish. In 1768, an angry crowd protested the new Spanish rule and a resistance movement developed. Ulloa returned to Havana and in July 1769, Spain sent Governor Alejandro O'Reilly. O'Reilly arrived to New Orleans with 24 ships and 2,600 soldiers. He arrested 12 of the rebellion leaders, executed five by firing squad and exiled rebels that did not wish to submit to Spanish rule. After the rebellion was suppressed, New Orleans remained under Spanish control until it was sold to the United States under the Louisiana Purchase – See S.L. Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 220-222 and J.G. Tregle Jr., 'O'Reilly, Alejandro (1725-94)', in *The New Encyclopedia of the American West*, ed. H.R. Lamar (Yale University Press, 1998).

Antonio Obuloi,³⁸ who on his arrival in the harbour, was refused admittance and provisions. He anchored at some distance, and sent to the Court of Madrid for instructions how to act; upon which Gen^l O'Reilly³⁹ with a strong military force, was sent to oblige the people to submit. A Dreadful slaughter ensued. Many were the cruelties committed. Several of the principal men were put to death; many were turned out, and reduced from affluence to poverty. O'Reilly seemed to delight in blood. He acted with great treachery towards many who were deserving and beloved. Alas! numerous families were driven from their homes, and became wanderers seeking shelter in other places. Thus was this comfortable tranquil settlement disturbed by the sad effects of war, breaking up domestic comforts, nor do I know that it ever enjoyed peace again. About March 1767 Gen^l Haldimand arrived with all his Suite, to fill up the place, which but for a few days had been occupied by poor Gen^l Bouquet, & which since his death had only been supplied by temporary Governors.⁴⁰ This I have not thought worth mentioning, and as I cannot extend this narrative chiefly confine myself to my own tale.

I was about to lose my kind Friend Mrs Taylor, as her husband was recalled to England.⁴¹ She however remained till after my confinement, when it pleased God to give me a Daughter.⁴² While I was delighted to receive this interesting Object, I wept over her as she recalled to me my precious Child, whom I had lost; and again to be a Mother, unforgiven by my Father, was a source of deep affliction. It is in moments, when our warmest sensibilities are called forth, that they are most blended with painful recollections. No earthly feeling of pleasure is unmixed, and yet we cling to such pleasures. I was much grieved that we had not a Clergyman of our own to baptize my Infant, but the Chaplain belonging to the French Colony (which I before mentioned) was still at Pensacola. He was a good man, and to him I applied. He not only baptized my little Jane, but also administered the blessed sacrament to my Husband and myself and a few of our friends. I cannot tell you the satisfaction I derived from this Feast. It had been 2 years since I had partaken of it, and I derived a peace, I cannot describe. After this my friend M^{rs} Taylor left me, and but for the sweet employ[ment] of nursing my Babe, I should have felt very solitary. My dear Husband was indeed all I could wish, but a female companion must ever be valuable. My spirits often sunk. The

³⁸ Governor Antonio de Ulloa.

³⁹ Governor Alejandro O'Reilly.

⁴⁰ Brig Gen Frederick Haldimand left New York on the H.M.S. *Cygnat* in December, 1766, stopping in Jamaica in February and arrived in Pensacola on 24.3.1767. R.R. Rea, 'Brigadier Frederick Haldimand – The Florida Years', *Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 54, No. 4 (1976), p. 515.

⁴¹ Mrs Taylor stayed behind long enough to form a friendship with Gen. Haldimand, and he returned to her, in St Augustine, an item of furniture he had earlier purchased from the Taylors. Rea, 'Brigadier', pp. 518 & 530.

⁴² Jane, born at Pensacola in March or April, 1766. Bauer, 'In a strange place', p. 154.

more I loved my Husband and Child, the more a Father's blessing seemed needful for me but the Almighty gave me innumerable blessings and health and spirits to support me under my trials.

Gen^l H[alidmand] began greatly to improve the place. He studied the Comforts of the Army. The old Stockades were thrown down, and the Garrison enlarged, by taking in sufficient ground to give each company in the Reg^t a Garden.⁴³ He laid it open to the Sea, so that we enjoyed the Sea Breeze. Our house was in front. He fenced round the Fort, with strong Stockades, but not so high as the Old ones, yet sufficient to defend us from enemies, particularly the Wolves, which at night came frequently to the Fence, howling dreadfully. The people in the Town were often annoyed by them, before the Place became more thickly inhabited, and the Town more built. The woods also were much cleared, so that the wolves were farther from us.

We had constant communications with Jamaica, New York, and Charles Town. We were thus supplied with many necessities and luxuries, which at first we had not obtained. We had Turtle in abundance, Venison, Wild Fowl, West India Fruits, variety of wines &c, but at times our fresh provisions were scarce, and we were reduced to the King's allowance of salt Pork and Pease &c &c. When a ship came in with sheep and Poultry, the rejoicing was universal. My child grew and improved, and was the Darling of her fond Father, and myself. Governor Brown,⁴⁴ her Godfather, gave her a Lot of ground, about a mile from the Town, which we enclosed with a Fence, and built a hut on it, placing a couple of Soldiers to take care of it, and a small stock of Poultry, which we kept there. But they did not thrive. However this place afforded us much amusement. We built a large Bower on a Frame of Wood, fixing a long Table and seats in it, and there we often had our friends to dine with us, particularly on the day, my little Jane was a year old, which we celebrated with several friends, with music &c &c

I mentioned our want of a Clergyman, excepting the short time we had the french Chaplain. Excluded from public worship, we had alas! no one to conduct the ceremonies of marriage baptising &c &c The Weddings were performed by the Chief Justice, before Witnesses, and certificates being given. When any person was to be buried, the Sergeant Major, or perhaps some Officer, read a part of the funeral service. It cannot be matter of surprise, that there existed in consequence, but little reverence for Religion, and alas! I reflect with sorrow on all the abuses, which I witnessed, and on my own sinful neglect. In 1769 a Clergyman

⁴³ Correspondence between Halidmand and Gage confirms this description, indicating that the work was well underway by the end of April 1767. R.R. Rea, 'Brigadier', pp. 516-17.

⁴⁴ Johnstone's position as Governor ended in February 1767 and he was succeeded by Lt Gov Montfort Browne. Starr, *Tories, Dons, and Rebels*, p. 17.

arrived from England, appointed to the Garrison at Mobile.⁴⁵ On his way, he passed through Pensacola, and we were rejoiced at the prospect of having the Sacrament administered to us. The Court House was made ready for Divine Service on the Sabbath. I must be minute in describing the particulars of this (to me) most important day, never to be forgotten. We were preparing to go to this place of worship, when the gun was fired to give notice from the Light House at Santa Rosa, that an English Packet was entering the Harbour. This was ever a matter of great Interest, 4 only arriving in the year. To me whose heart was ever tremblingly anxious for news from home, judge of my sensations. For a while I felt in a state of agitation, and my resolution of going to Church seemed to stagger. I prayed for fortitude, and thank God did enter the place of worship. Much as my heart rested on Earthly Objects, my good God, did compose my feelings, and at the Table of my Lord, I felt a calm and comfort I cannot describe. When the service was ended, as we went out, a servant came running towards me and told me that letters were waiting for me at home, and that my dear friend Mrs B[lackwell] had arrived in the Packet. My feelings were indeed roused. I flew home with my Husband, and there found my Child in the arms of my Friend, and several letters lying on the Table. One in the hand of my eldest brother (who had hitherto not been allowed to write to me). I broke the Seal, and judge of my sensations, read there the long desired forgiveness. I was indeed overwhelmed. My Father no longer frowned on me. My Husband was forgiven. I was acknowledged as dear to my Father's heart. He longed to embrace me, and press my child to his bosom. My Brother wrote most kindly.

[...]

We had become quite reconciled to our situation at Pensacola, and I hoped that we should remain there, till the allotted time for our return to England should arrive, which on our going out, we had been assured would be 5 years. My Husband was a general favourite, and both in public and private life, approved himself worthy of esteem. Alas! nothing in this world is certain. A sudden order came from Gen^l Gage for our Regiment to go to East Florida. This was a stroke that would deprive my Husband of his employment as Fort Major, thus reducing our Income. It would remove me from my friend Mrs B[lackwell], whose chief inducement in coming from England was to be with me, and it would deprive me of her care and support in my approaching confinement. Add to which, we had laid out a good deal of money in making our house comfortable. But it was necessary to obey. It was autumn. However a Reprieve individually was granted, tho' the Regiment was to go. In consideration of my situation the General allowed my Husband to remain

⁴⁵ TNA, Army Lists 1769 & 1770, WO 65/19 & WO 65/20 show no chaplain for Mobile, so this statement cannot be substantiated.

till after my confinement, when we were to follow.

On the 3rd of December I was again blessed with a Daughter,⁴⁶ who I had baptized by Dr Cotton,⁴⁷ Cap^{tn} M[urray] of the Navy and Mrs B[lackwell] being the Sponsors. She was named after me Elizabeth. In Jan^y having no longer any excuse to remain, we prepared for our departure. I took a melancholy leave of my Friend, and with my Husband and two Babes, went on board a Transport, which Gen^l Gage had left for our accommodation. He likewise permitted a Surgeon to remain to accompany us. When the moment of our departure arrived, my Friend and myself wept together and I continued so to do, after I had got into the Barge, which Cap^{tn} M[urray] had ready prepared, to convey us to the Transport. He had paid us the high compliment of having his ship manned, as we passed under her stem, but my tearful eyes were too dim to see it. My Husband was obliged to go again on shore to settle some business, after he had placed me and my Children, my white servant and my black woman in a nice roomy Cabin. I hastened to settle my Infant, and lay down myself on the bed much exhausted and soon fell asleep. My maid had the care of my little Jane, while I took my Infant to myself, and desired Emma (the black woman) to wait for her Master, and to watch the Candle, till he should prepare the Lamp. She became sleepy, and by way of resting the Candle, she placed it in the basket with the Child's Clothes, and in this state she fell asleep. The Candle burnt down, and the twigs of the Basket took fire, but did not blaze out. It mouldered on without as yet touching the Clothes. Her Master arrived, and found poor Emma on the Floor by my birth, with the Basket burning. I tremble when I think what the consequences would have been in a few minutes. My Husband in his haste, on first coming on board, had thrown a large paper of Gunpowder into the Basket. He came softly into the Cabin, and on seeing what I have just described, he was greatly agitated, and flew to seize the paper just in time probably to prevent an explosion, in which we must all have been destroyed. Thus the Providence of God saved us from a dreadful death, and tho' I was preserved to suffer many sorrows, yet I praise God for this and all his mercies.

The next day we sailed, and advanced on our voyage. The weather was cold and we had much calm, so that our progress was slow, and obliged us to economise our provisions. At the end of 3 weeks we got so near the Bar of St Augustine, that we heard the Evening Gun fired. We anchored outside, waiting for a Pilot Boat. I was happy at the prospect of going on shore in the morning. In the night however a violent gale of wind arose, and it was deemed necessary to take up the anchor, as our situation was not a safe one, and we were actually blown out to sea. The Storm

⁴⁶ Elizabeth, born on 3.12.1768 at Pensacola. Bauer, 'In a strange place', p. 154.

⁴⁷ TNA, Army List 1769, WO 65/19 gives Nathaniel Cotton as the Chaplain for West Florida.

continued, and I was attacked with Fever, which confined me to my bed. You may suppose I wanted many things at such a time. The Surgeon was most useful, and my sweet Babe was quiet, and easily managed. We continued to be tossed about for an entire week, when we again arrived at the Bar of St Augustine. The Pilot Boat came, and the morning being fine, I was wrapped in a Blanket, placed on a Mattrass on the Boat, and so brought to Shore. The Bar is a dreadful one, and not always safe, being very shallow, and the Breakers frightful. However we landed in safety, and I was taken to the house of Captⁿ ⁴⁸ one of our Officers, till I was sufficiently recovered to go to a house, which he had taken for us. Our Regiment had encamped a mile from the Town in a pleasant situation. The Town of St Augustine was regularly built by the Spaniards.⁴⁹ It had been an old favorite station of theirs. It was close to the Sea, in front of which was the Governors house, large and airy. There were Rows of good houses on each side, forming three sides of a Square, with a Row of orange Trees in front of them, the shade of which was delightful, added to their sweet perfume. A long street extended from the corner of the Governor's house, to the end of the Town, and there were also Rows of Houses from the corners by the sea, parallel to them. At one end of the Town was a most beautiful Fort⁵⁰ built of stone with great regularity down to the sea, and strong Batteries. At the other end was a large Building, which had formerly been a nunnery, that was now converted into a Barrack, and at the time I mention was occupied by the 9th Regiment.⁵¹ They were soon to leave it, [until] when our Regiment should encamp. The Country round was poor and barren, but there were excellent Fruits, such as Oranges Lemons Citrons Pomegranates Figs and Melons. With much labour good vegetables were raised. There was pleasant society, and larger than we desired. Our house was small and became hot, so that as the summer was advancing, I requested that my Husband remove to the Camp, where the Officers had built airy huts. We proposed building one as convenient and cheap as we could. Gen^l Haldimand, who was likewise at St Augustines, had some time before, procured a number of regular wooden frames to join and take asunder, designed for moving.

⁴⁸ It seems likely that she was referring to Capt. Thomas Varloe, as she later (p. 70) referred to 'Capⁿ V', who had invited us to his house'.

⁴⁹ Like Pensacola, St. Augustine had been built by the Spanish but placed under British control after the Seven Years' War. St. Augustine became the capital of the royal province of East Florida. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975), p. 2.

⁵⁰ Castillo de San Marcos, built by the Spanish and renamed Fort St. Marks by the British. Wright, *Florida in the American Revolution*, p. 6.

⁵¹ The 9th Foot had been in Florida from 1763 and was sent back to Ireland in the autumn of 1769. It did not return to North America until April of 1776 – R. Cannon, *Historical Record of the Ninth, Or the East Norfolk, Regiment of Foot*, (London: Parker, Furnivall, & Parker, 1848), p. 27.

He lent us two or three Frames, on which we soon constructed a very nice house, one of the pleasantest I ever lived in. The Frames were jointed, and put up with an open space between, but covered in with the rest, making the length of the building 63 Feet. In one Frame, was a large sitting Room with 2 doors 5 windows and 2 closets. In the other, was a Bedroom and nursery. A long Covered Piazza went the whole length of the House. The Windows were not glazed, but were latticed to admit the Air, with shades from the top to keep out the Sun. The whole was covered with Rushes on Laths, tied with packthread, with an inside lining of a silky kind of grass, also tied with packthread which looked beautiful, and was calculated to defend us from the Weather. Our Kitchen was 50 yards from the house. We had plenty of Workmen to carry all this into effect, and contrived to furnish the house neatly. The Governor⁵² gave us ground to keep a Cow, and some Poultry. Thus comfortably settled, we spent our time pleasantly from May till the end of September. The Summer was very hot, nor had we the fine refreshing Breeze which we had at Pensacola, as in the front of St Augustine, between the Harbour and the Sea lies the Island of Anastasia,⁵³ which though narrow, intercepts the Sea Breeze, and this latter, passing over the hot sands brings an oppressive air, quite overcoming. Nor does even this prevail, as much as the Land Breeze, which comes as from an Oven. West Florida we had become inured to, and from various causes, I should have preferred being at Pensacola, till the expiration of the time, we were to spend in America, which we had been led to hope would not exceed 5 years, from the time we came out. As this time approached, my heart, more and more clung to the sweet hope of going home. To embrace my beloved Father, to receive his personal blessing, to see him receive my husband, and caress my children, this seemed to me the height of human happiness, and the dread lest this Parent should be taken from me, embittered every moment.

Elizabeth then recorded hearing the news of the death of her mother and her eldest brother's marriage after the summer of 1769. She then learned that her father, in his mourning, was relenting toward her, only to receive news of his death in May 1769, six months after that of her mother. In his will, he had left her "only a small annuity" (f. 67), which was a heavy blow to the Pilots. However, Lieutenant Pilot behaved with great "liberality" (f. 68) over this insult, according to his wife.

⁵² Governor James Grant, Governor of East Florida from 1764 until 1771. W. H. Siebert, 'The Port of St. Augustine during the British Regime', *The Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 24, No. 4 (April, 1946), pp. 256 & 261.

⁵³ The Anastasia Island is located across the Matanzas River from St. Augustine. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution*, p. 6.

He would not for the world have wounded my feelings, nor would either of us call in question the Decision of my Father, tho' we had now nothing to leave to our Children, as ours was a life Income. The kind sympathy of my Brothers and Sisters, was soothing to me, and their generosity affected me. My 2 youngest Brothers (both in the Army)⁵⁴ each gave me £200 and my sister £100, to make up to me 500£. My poor Brother Jones⁵⁵ had been unfortunate and could do nothing, and my Eldest Brother⁵⁶ came to the Estate heavily clogged. I should here pause my dear H[enrietta]. My pen cannot turn from this subject to go on with my narrative. I will therefore lay it down, and call upon you to bless God for all his mercies, in having spared me, and given me time to read more clearly his providential dealings with me.

The rest of the memoir will continue in a subsequent issue of the journal, covering her final four years in North America and a later voyage to accompany her husband during his service in Quebec.

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⁵⁴ One of these brothers was William, who was commissioned an ensign in the 53rd Foot in 1770. Baxter, *The British Invasion*, vi, pp. 149-50. The other brother was probably Stephen. The Army List for 1770 (TNA, WO 65/20) shows that a Stephen Digby had held a Captaincy in the 24th Foot for ten years.

⁵⁵ According to the fifth and sixth (unfoliated) pages of the memoir, Jones Digby, born c.1741, was 'designed for a merchant' and was generally adored, but his lack of 'prudence' and 'steadiness' made him unfortunate in his adult life.

⁵⁶ This brother can be identified as Reverend Simon Digby. John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), Vol. IV, pp. 462-3.

**‘DAY AFTER DAY ADDS TO OUR MISERIES’:
THE PRIVATE DIARY OF A STAFF OFFICER
ON THE WALCHEREN EXPEDITION, 1809**

PART 1

JACQUELINE REITER

The papers of General Sir Eyre Coote were purchased by the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan in 1990.¹ Among the 21 feet of material is an anonymous diary of the 1809 Walcheren campaign, during which Coote served as second-in-command to the Commander of the Forces, John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham.² The diary begins on 25 July 1809 just before the expedition sailed and ends on 22 September 1809, a week after Coote took over command of the island of Walcheren from Chatham. Kept in a beautifully neat copperplate hand, the journal covers the active phase of the expedition, describing the British landing on Walcheren, the siege and capture of the town of Vlissingen (Flushing), the advance to South Beveland, the spread of disease (referred to as ‘the Zeeland fever’), and the army’s subsequent retreat.

The Walcheren campaign was one of the biggest (and most notorious) British military efforts of the war with Napoleon. At the end of July 1809, just over 39,000 men and 616 vessels, including 264 warships, were sent on an amphibious mission to the Scheldt River, tasked with ‘the Capture or Destruction of the Enemy’s Ships, either building at Antwerp and Flushing, or afloat on the Scheldt; the Destruction of the Arsenal and Dock Yards at Antwerp, Terneuse, and Flushing; and the Reduction of the Island of Walcheren, and the rendering if possible the Scheldt no longer navigable for Ships of War.’³ Attacking Antwerp would achieve a threefold objective: it would divert Napoleon’s attention from Austria, Britain’s Fifth Coalition ally, in central Europe; it would destroy, or place in British hands, a large proportion of Napoleon’s fleet, neutralising the ever-present fear of French invasion; and it would open the rich mercantile island of Walcheren to British trade, piercing Napoleon’s continental blockade and giving Britain’s beleaguered economy a much-needed boost. Despite scepticism at Horse Guards, and the Austrians being knocked out of the war at Wagram (5–6 July), the expedition sailed on 28 July 1809.

The campaign soon became an appalling human catastrophe. The original

¹ Catalogue of the Coote Papers at the University of Michigan, http://clements.umich.edu/eadadd/coote_calendar.pdf (accessed 7 Sep 2017), p. 8.

² University of Michigan, Coote MSS, Box 29, vol. 3. I owe many thanks to the staff of the William L. Clements Library for permission to publish the journal, and for helping me identify the author.

³ Chatham’s Instructions, 16 Jul 1809, *A Collection of papers relating to the expedition to the Scheldt, presented to Parliament in 1810* (London, 1810), pp. 21–22.

plan had been to land half the army on Walcheren under Coote to lay siege to the fortified town of Flushing, allowing the fleet to carry the other half of the army under Chatham to Sandvliet on the mainland, but adverse winds forced the entire fleet to shelter off the north-west point of the island. Although initially things went well, one of the major objectives was not achieved – to disable the French batteries on Cadzand, without which the main portion of the army could not sail unmolested down to Sandvliet. Everything now depended on Flushing passing into British hands, but the siege dragged on for a fortnight. The British were finally ready to march on Antwerp on 25 August, but a serious fever ripped through the army (identified as a potent combination of malaria, typhus, typhoid, and dysentery)⁴ and by the beginning of September over 8,000 men were on the sick list.⁵ With the numbers of sick continuing to rise, Chatham ended the campaign on 27 August and was recalled home in mid-September. A garrison of 16,000 men was kept on Walcheren while the government hesitated over keeping such an economically valuable, but militarily costly, prize. The decision to abandon it was finally made on 4 November, and by Christmas all Walcheren's defences had been destroyed and the island evacuated.⁶ Of the 39,000 men who had served on Walcheren, 11,000 fell sick; at least 4,000 died.⁷ The British Army was dogged by 'Walcheren fever' for years, and the troops who had served on the expedition remained notoriously unhealthy.

Much, although not all,⁸ of this is covered in meticulous detail in the journal reproduced below. The diary is especially remarkable because, unlike many accounts of the Walcheren campaign, the person keeping it was attached to high command as a member of Sir Eyre Coote's personal staff. Chatham's Quarter-Master General and Chief of Staff, Sir Robert Brownrigg, along with the Adjutant-General, Robert Ballard Long, both kept journals, but they were attached to Chatham, who remained at headquarters in Middelburg for most of the time. The anonymous author of *Letters from Flushing*, one of the most famous contemporary accounts of the campaign, was also in Middelburg.⁹ Coote's staff, in contrast, were in the thick of it. Ordered to oversee the siege of Flushing, Coote moved constantly between East and West Zouburg next to the British lines, and the author of the diary followed him in and out of the trenches.

This obvious proximity to Coote allows us to guess the identity of the author. The Clements Library catalogue attributes authorship to one of Coote's two aides-

⁴ Martin R. Howard, *Walcheren 1809: the scandalous destruction of a British army* (Barnsley, 2012), pp. 164–166.

⁵ Proceedings of the Army under the Command of Lt.-Gen. the Earl of Chatham, KG, 3 Sep 1809, The National Archives (UK), War Office Papers, WO 190 (henceforth 'Proceedings of the Army').

⁶ Gordon C. Bond, *The Grand Expedition: the British invasion of Holland in 1809* (Athens, GA, 1979), pp. 137–139.

⁷ Howard, *Walcheren 1809*, p. 201.

⁸ The journal is silent on the issue of Cadzand, despite its importance for the campaign's outcome.

⁹ *Letters from Flushing ... by an officer of the Eighty-First Regiment* (London, 1809).

de-camp, Captain Henry Worsley.¹⁰ Worsley, however, clearly did not write the journal as he is mentioned several times,¹¹ and was away from Walcheren carrying dispatches to London between 20 and 28 September, which would not allow for him to have compiled the last two entries.¹² Coote's other aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Herries, was also not responsible, as the entry for 23 August shows the author was not an ADC. Nor was it Coote's Assistant Quarter-Master General, Lieutenant-Colonel Offeney, as the brief portrait of him on 21 August suggests.

The strongest likelihood, therefore, is that the author was the only other member of Coote's personal staff – Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Walsh, Coote's Assistant Adjutant General. A number of circumstances support this conclusion. On 25 August, the diarist records that 'Cap[tai]n Arthur, of the 35th ... was lately given me as an Assistant': this refers to Captain George Arthur, who was appointed Deputy Assistant Adjutant General under Walsh during the course of the campaign.¹³ An even more convincing clue is the following entry for 14 August, during the siege of Flushing: 'In compliance with Lord Chatham's wish, I was sent off with a Flag of Truce, proposing to General Monnet to surrender with his Garrison, Prisoners of War, & allowing him *One Hour* to consider the Proposal.'¹⁴ This is corroborated almost exactly by the entry for 14 August in the official Army Proceedings compiled by General Brownrigg, Lord Chatham's Chief of Staff: 'Lt-Col Walsh, Assistant Adjutant General, was sent into the Town with a letter to the Commanding General requiring him to Surrender, with his Garrison prisoners of War, and desiring his Answer written in an Hour.'¹⁵ The handwriting of the journal also largely matches Walsh's handwriting in the orderly books he kept as AAG.¹⁶

Who, then, was Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Walsh? His story is a surprising one. He was born on 4 February 1777 in St-Georges-sur-Loire, the fourth son of Anthony, 2nd Earl Walsh. His great-grandfather had followed James II into exile, fleeing to the Loire Valley from his Irish estates in Kilkenny; his grandfather had been created Earl Walsh by James III in recognition of his naval services. Lieutenant-Colonel Walsh thus came from a family with impeccable Jacobite credentials. Despite continuing family connections in Ireland, he was essentially a French Catholic émigré whose family had loyally served the exiled Stuarts and the French Royal Family, and whose cousins were close to Napoleon.¹⁷

¹⁰ Listed as his secretary. Catalogue of the Coote Papers, p. 173.

¹¹ See entries for 23 and 25 Aug, and 20 Sep.

¹² Journal, 20 Sep; see Coote to Chatham, 29 Sep 1809, TNA, Chatham MSS, PRO 30/8/366, f. 141, for the date of his return.

¹³ A.G.L. Shaw, *Sir George Arthur, 1784–1854* (Melbourne, 1980), p. 13.

¹⁴ Entry for 14 Aug.

¹⁵ Proceedings of the Army, 14 Aug 1809. The journal's account is further confirmed by a copy of a letter from Coote to Chatham in the Coote Papers, in which Coote notes that Walsh was sent a second time some hours later: Coote to Chatham, 15 Aug 1809, University of Michigan, Coote MSS, Box 13, vol. 51.

¹⁶ University of Michigan, Coote MSS, Box 27, vol. 1.

¹⁷ Marquis of Ruigny and Raineval, *The Jacobite Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Grants of Honour ...* (Edinburgh, 1904), pp. 179–180; Chevalier de Courcelles, *Histoire Généalogique et Héraldique des Pairs de France ...* vol. 6 (Paris, 1826), pp. 22–25.

How did a man whose entire family history should have placed him in enmity with Hanoverian Britain end up in the British Army? One source gives a pedestrian and (given Walsh's Catholicism) rather unlikely route: he simply joined through the 88th Foot. This, however, was a different Thomas Walsh.¹⁸ The Thomas Walsh who accompanied Sir Eyre Coote to Walcheren entered the British Army through the Irish Brigade, which traced its ancestry to a unit of aristocratic Irish Catholic exiles raised for Louis XIV as thanks for supporting James II's struggles against William III in Ireland. Until 1791, the Irish Brigade had fought for the French Crown, but the French Revolution changed its fortunes, and the old Jacobite Irish families buried their enmity with Britain in the common cause against atheist republicanism. Several officers fled to England and offered their services to the prime minister, William Pitt. Following the passage of an Act in 1794 allowing French émigrés to serve in the British military, a new 'Irish Brigade' was formed within the British Army. The Brigade was deployed in Nova Scotia and the West Indies, where it suffered hugely from disease. It was reduced in size in 1797, and the Irish insurrection of 1798 helped end the experiment of introducing an exclusively Catholic Irish regiment into the British service. By 1799, the Irish Brigade was gone, the officers either placed on half-pay or subsumed into the Regulars.¹⁹

This was Walsh's trajectory. He first took up a military life in 1793 at the age of 16, serving with the Prince de Condé's Royalist army in Europe and then alongside the British in Jamaica. In 1798 he joined the 5th Regiment of the Irish Brigade under the command of his maternal uncle, Lord Charles Edward Walsh de Serrant.²⁰ When this was disbanded he transferred into the 27th Foot as an ensign, gazetted on 1 January 1799. Walsh probably first met Sir Eyre Coote during the Helder Expedition of 1799, and Coote appointed him aide-de-camp during the Egyptian campaign of 1800–1801. There was much affection between them, and Walsh was clearly close to his superior, whom he described as 'my best friend my protector & patron.'²¹ After Walsh's return to Britain, he was gazetted in the 93rd Foot as a captain. In December 1804 he transferred briefly to the 3rd West India Regiment as a major, before exchanging a week later into a half-pay commission with the Queen's Rangers (a regiment with its roots in the American War of Independence, when it had been composed of American loyalists). Still attached to Coote, Walsh was appointed Deputy Adjutant General when Coote

¹⁸ *Jacobite Peerage*, p. 180. Thomas Walsh of the 88th was commissioned as an ensign in Sept 1797, served in India and Egypt, but was still a lieutenant on retiring from the Army on 24 Sep 1803: Army Lists, 1797–1803, TNA, War Office Papers, WO 65/47–53.

¹⁹ Ciarán McDonnell, 'A "Fair Chance"? The Catholic Irish Brigade in the British Service, 1793–1798', *War in History* 23(2), 2016, pp. 150–168. Many thanks to Dr McDonnell, who kindly answered my questions about the Irish Brigade.

²⁰ The precise date of his commission is unclear, but his name was handwritten into the Army List at the bottom of the list of ensigns: Army List 1798, TNA, War Office Papers, WO 65/48. For his early career, see the memoirs of his brother Joseph, Viscount Walsh, *Souvenirs de Cinquante Ans*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1845), p. 382.

²¹ Walsh's will, TNA Court of Probate MSS PROB 11/1517/5.

became military governor of Jamaica in May 1805. In conjunction with this post he received the commission of brevet lieutenant-colonel in the Army. While in Jamaica, Walsh fathered an illegitimate daughter, Eliza Thomasina Walsh, born in March 1808; he left her £2,500 in his will.²² Walsh left Jamaica with Coote at the end of April 1808 and arrived back in Britain on 5 June, after which he exchanged into the 56th Foot.²³ As his brother Joseph put it: 'Before his fortieth year, he [Walsh] had made war in the four quarters of the world.'²⁴

Walsh's French-Catholic background is startling, but it was not unique. Many former officers of the Irish Brigade found their way into the British Regulars after their original regiments disbanded, although, like Walsh, they would not have publicised their religion.²⁵ At the turn of the nineteenth century, Catholics were still prohibited from serving in the British Army by the Test and Corporation Acts, which required all officers to take an oath abjuring the Pope. Walsh, two of whose brothers were priests and who was educated at the Jesuit College of Liège, would not have been the only Catholic officer in the British Army, or even the only émigré. As Catriona Kennedy argues, the influx of émigrés into the British Army after 1793 'softened attitudes' towards serving Catholics, while serving an explicitly Protestant country became far less of a problem once Britain's primary enemy became atheist, republican France.²⁶ Catholics like Walsh were allowed to serve because the administration of the oaths upholding the Protestant establishment had fallen into abeyance, partly as a result of various Catholic Relief Acts (1778 and 1793 being the most obvious examples) and partly because of Indemnity Acts allowing officers to put off taking the oath for a specified period, and which after 1796 usually gave officers more or less complete coverage.²⁷ It nevertheless remained technically illegal to be both Catholic and a British officer, and the proportion of Catholic officers was accordingly much lower than the proportion of Catholic rank and file (1.4% of the officer corps, probably far less).²⁸ Walsh's religion clearly did not prevent him securing a senior position on the staff

²² She died in Kilkenny in 1875 (<http://www.morrisonfamilyconnections.net/p43.htm#i28>, accessed 8 Sept 2017). See also Walsh's will, TNA Court of Probate MSS PROB 11/1517/5.

²³ The *Morning Post*, 9 Jun 1808, records the arrival of the *Prince Ernest* packet carrying Coote from Jamaica. Walsh is listed among the passengers as 'Lieut.-Col. Welch'.

²⁴ Walsh, *Souvenirs de Cinquante Ans*, vol. 2, pp. 381–382 (my translation).

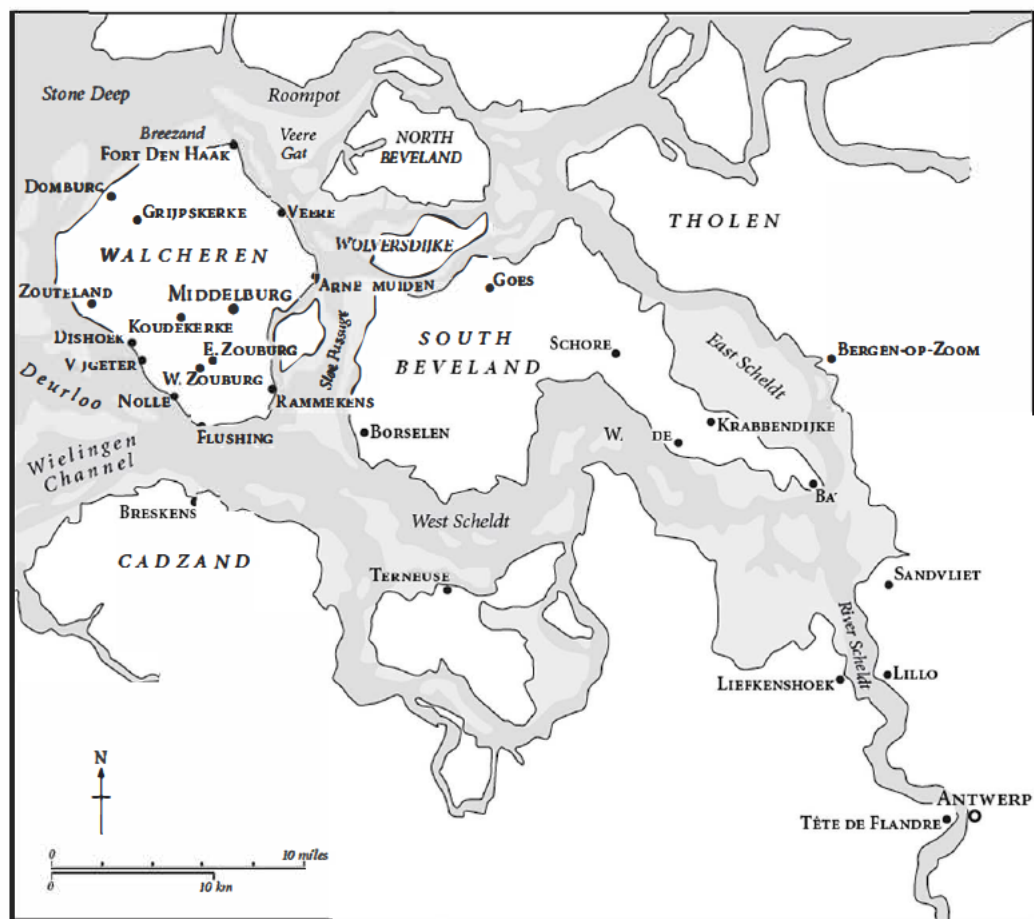
The information on Walsh's career is drawn from the Army Lists for 1798–1810 (TNA, War Office Papers, WO 65/48–60) and the *London Gazette*, 1 Jan 1799 (no. 15,095, p. 10), 18 Dec 1804 (no. 15,764, p. 1529) and 25 Dec 1804 (no. 15,766, p. 1559).

²⁵ McDonnell, 'A Fair Chance', p. 165.

²⁶ Catriona Kennedy cites another example in Capt. Peter Jennings, who entered the 28th Foot around the same time that Walsh was commissioned into the 27th. Catriona Kennedy, 'True Brittons and Real Irish': Irish Catholics in the British Army during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', in Catriona Kennedy and Matthew McCormack (eds.), *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750–1850* (Basingstoke, 2012), 39, 42–4.

²⁷ J.R. Western, 'Roman Catholics holding military commissions in 1798', *English Historical Review* 70(276) (1955), pp. 428–432.

²⁸ Velmo J.L. Fontana, 'Some aspects of Roman Catholic service in the land forces of the British Crown, c1750 to c1820', PhD Thesis, University of Portsmouth, 2002, pp. 58–59.



The Walcheren Expedition, 1809

Drawn by Martin Brown

of one of the biggest expeditions Britain sent against Napoleon, but he was still something of a rarity.

I have lightly edited the journal's punctuation, spelling and structure, hoping to keep Walsh's voice as intact as possible. Certain turns of phrase occasionally seem odd (for example, his description of the 'gallant' rather than 'galling' fire endured by the British soldiers on 1 August), but this may be due to the fact that English was almost certainly not Walsh's first language. Due to its length, the journal has been split into three parts, loosely covering the siege of Flushing up to the 7 August *sortie*, the bombardment and surrender of Flushing in mid-August,

This journal was not Walsh's first literary effort. While serving as Coote's ADC in Egypt, Walsh had compiled sketches and kept a diary of his experiences, which he later published by subscription to some acclaim.²⁹ Perhaps Walsh kept his Walcheren journal with the idea of publishing it after his return; if so, it rapidly became unsuitable for such a purpose. Although the diary begins from a comparatively neutral perspective, Walsh's opinions rapidly become mingled with his observations as the Walcheren expedition gets bogged down (literally and figuratively) in its course. Walsh's opinions of the officers in command, particularly Lord Chatham, are at first disguised, but as the campaign stumbles to its conclusion he becomes less and less inhibited in recording his views. This transparency, along with Walsh's horror as the tragedy of 'Walcheren fever' unfolds, is one of the most interesting (and valuable) aspects of the journal, in addition to its obvious importance as a military source.

1809. July 25th.

On the 19th Instant, Sir Eyre Coote³⁰ embarked on board H: M: Ship *Impetueux*, Captain Lawford,³¹ as Second in command of the formidable Expedition, under the orders of the Earl of Chatham.³² His immediate personal Staff, consisting of

²⁹ Thomas Walsh, *Journal of the late campaign in Egypt: including descriptions of that country and of Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Marmorice, and Macri* (London, 1803).

³⁰ Sir Eyre Coote (1759–1823) was commissioned into the Army in 1776 at the request of his uncle (a general famed for his victories in India). He commanded a raid on Ostend in 1798, during which he was captured by the enemy, and served as Jamaica's military governor, 1805–1808. He possibly never recovered from this posting, and a tropical illness may have been responsible for his later eccentric behaviour (he was struck off the Army List in 1816 after being accused of paying for boys from Christ's Hospital to be flogged). See S.D.M. Carpenter, 'Coote, Eyre (bap. 1759, d. 1823)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (online edition), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6244> (accessed 14 Sep 2017); P.A. Symonds, 'Coote, Sir Eyre (1759–1823), of West Park, Hants.', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1790–1820*, ed. R. Thorne (London, 1986) (online edition), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/coote-sir-eyre-1759-1823> (accessed 14 Sep 2017); Catalogue of the Coote Papers, pp. 3–5.

³¹ HMS *Impétueux* was a former French vessel captured during the Glorious First of June, 1794. John Lawford (1756–1842) had captained her since 1806. Peter Hore, *Nelson's Band of Brothers: Lives and Memorials* (Barnsley, 2015), p. 78.

³² John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham (1756–1835). Chatham was the elder brother of William Pitt the Younger. His military experience was slender, despite his having been in the Army for 35 years: he had commanded a brigade during the 1799 Helder Expedition, but otherwise spent almost all his time during the wars in the Southern and Eastern Military Districts of Great Britain. Nevertheless, a series of general brevets had promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-general and he was of comparatively high seniority. He was better known as a politician, serving in the cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty 1788–1794, Lord Privy Seal 1794–1796, and Lord President of the Council 1796–1801. He was made Master-General of the Ordnance in 1801 – a position he still held when he accepted the Walcheren command. See Jacqueline Reiter, *The Late Lord: the life of John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham* (Barnsley, 2017).

Capt[ai]n Worsley³³ 85th Reg[imen]t & Lieut[enant] Herries³⁴, 9th Dragoons, Aides de Camp, L[ieutenan]t-Colonel Walsh, 56th Reg[imen]t Ass[istan]t Adj[utan]t Gen[era]l; & L[ieutenan]t-Col[onel] Offeneý,³⁵ K.G.L. Ass[istan]t Q[uar]te[r] M[aste]r General. – The left Wing of the Army, under Sir Eyre Coote’s immediate command, amounting to upwards of 13,000 effective men, embarked at Portsmouth,³⁶ in Ships of War, with the exception of the 2nd [battalion of the] 14th Reg[imen]t & 9th L[igh]t Dragoons, who are in Transports. – The Ships of War, mostly two deckers, have taken out their lower Guns, on this occasion & altogether the arrangements appear to have been well contrived. – The zealous & anxious exertions of the Navy, on this service, are highly to be commended, and the readiness with which Rear-Admiral Otway,³⁷ who has the entire superintendence, comes into any proposed measure, promises very fair to the successful issue of the Expedition. – The Infantry was all embarked on Sunday morning the 16th Instant, in the course of four hours in a most masterly style, & the horses of the Staff were afterwards put on board. The 9th L[igh]t D[ragoo]ns had been embarked on the 15th & the 2nd L[igh]t Dragoons of the King’s German Legion, tho’ not belonging to the Left Wing, were embarked on the 17th. – The Troops had been encamped on each side of Portsmouth, viz. Five Reg[imen]ts in the South Sea Common & Twelve on the Gosport side of the Water. The latter were not in one encampment but occupied sundry detached fields: – The object of the encampment being merely to assemble the Troops, as they marched in previous to Embarkation. – They began to arrive on the 27th June & were all assembled on the 10th July, with the exception of the Dragoons who remained quartered in the contiguous towns, ready to march in whenever it became necessary. – Sir Eyre Coote came down to Portsmouth on the 2nd of July, staid till the 5th when he went back to London, & returned on [the] 9th. While he remained at Portsmouth, he inspected the several Corps, & ordered their several deficiencies to be supplied. – The greatest advantage was the result of these Inspections. – Sir Eyre Coote was again called up to London on the 13th of July, to make the final arrangements with Lord Chatham, staid there until the 18th when he returned to Portsmouth, & embarked as before stated on the 20th. – The object of the present Armament is to destroy the French Ships in the Scheld [sic], & as a preliminary measure, the Island of Walcheren is to be taken. – The Left Wing under Sir Eyre Coote is destined for this important operation. It is much to be lamented that since the order for sailing arrived which was on the 21st Inst. the wind has since

³³ Henry Worsley (1783–1820).

³⁴ William Lewis Herries (1785–1847).

³⁵ Otto William Offeneý (c.1766–1812). Offeneý went on to join Wellington in the Peninsula, and died of fever at Belem in Aug 1812.

³⁶ A portion of the army embarked from Portsmouth to fool the French into believing they were destined to reinforce Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal: Bond, *The Grand Expedition*, p. 21.

³⁷ William Albany Otway (1755–1815), the naval second-in-command.

continued contrary,³⁸ and we should not have sailed this day, had not a positive order arrived to Rear-Admiral Otway to put to sea, were he 'even obliged to tide it down to the Downs'. – The Right Wing has been for upwards of a week embarked in the Downs, where we are going to meet it. – The plan at present seems to be that two landings are to be effected in the island of Walcheren, one under Sir Eyre Coote, near West Capel,³⁹ for the purpose of proceeding on Flushing, & the other under L[ieutenant]-General Fraser,⁴⁰ in the vicinity of Fort de L'Angle,⁴¹ for the reduction of that Fort & Veere, & of forming a junction with the main body before Flushing, after it has reduced those places & the Castle of Rammekens.⁴² The Reserve, under L[ieutenant]-Gen[era]l Sir John Hope,⁴³ is at the same time to make a descent on South Beveland, & L[ieutenant]-G[e]n[era]l Lord Huntley⁴⁴ with his division to possess himself of the Island of Cadsand. Our information respecting the Island of Walcheren is very trifling & defective; and, in my opinion we shall find it very differently fortified from what we are led to expect. – The formation of a great Naval Establishment at Antwerp having long been a favorite object of Napoleon, it is not to be supposed that the shores of the Scheld have been neglected, and Walcheren forming a formidable natural out-work, has surely not been unprovided with every means of defence.

26th July.

At 6 o'clock yesterday evening, Rear-Admiral Otway made the *Impetueux's* signal to part Company – This was done for the sake of Sir Eyre Coote's accommodation, & we therefore crowded all sail, to take advantage of the Admiral's obliging attention; But, it was all in vain, as the wind was so very scant, as scarcely to stem the Tide. – However by dint of exertion, we made some progress, until the Fog became so extremely thick, that Captain Lawford, deemed

³⁸ Sir Robert Brownrigg, with the main body of the army in the Downs, wrote on 21 Jul: 'The Wind blows fresh from the East, which prevents the junction of the Porstmouth Div[isio]n and while it lasts keeps us Stationary here.' Brownrigg to Alexander Hope, 21 Jul 1809, National Records of Scotland, Hope of Luffness MSS, 364/1/1188, f. 7.

³⁹ Westkapelle.

⁴⁰ Alexander Mackenzie Fraser (1758–1809).

⁴¹ From maps of Walcheren carried by the British during the expedition (for example, TNA Maps MP 1/323), Fort de l'Angle appears to be an alternative name for Fort den Haak.

⁴² This plan had already been changed by the time Walsh recorded it. On 24 Jul, the naval officers met with Lt.-Gens. Hope and Brownrigg at Deal and agreed to consolidate the Walcheren force into one landing near Zoutland Bay (to avoid running into the French fleet, reported to be in Flushing waters). The plan would change again at least once due to adverse weather conditions. Bond, *The Grand Expedition*, pp. 40–42.

⁴³ Sir John Hope, later 4th Earl of Hopetoun (1765–1723). Hope had been considered as a commander for the Walcheren expedition, but was not senior enough: Lord Palmerston to Laurence Sullivan, 15 Sep 1809, in Kenneth Bourne (ed.), *The letters of the 3rd Viscount Palmerston to Laurence and Elizabeth Sullivan, 1804–63* (London, 1979), pp. 110–112.

⁴⁴ George Gordon, Marquess of Huntly (1770–1836), the eldest son and heir of the 4th Duke of Gordon.

it prudent to come to our anchor for the night, not however until we had ascertained our situation to be opposite Dungeness Light House.

27th.

Soon after day light, we weighed anchor & feeling our way thro' the obscurity of the atmosphere, we found ourselves at Eleven in the Forenoon close in to Folkestone. – The Weather having then partially cleared up, shewed us our situation, otherwise it was our Captain's intention again to have let go his Anchor. – About twelve we discovered Dover Pier, thro' the haze, and before one o'clock we had anchored in the Downs – The fleet we parted from, the day before yesterday came in about the same time we did, having carried sail during the whole passage, without any other damage than a few ships getting foul of each other in the Fog. – On our arrival, the Downs, presented the appearance of a vast Forest of Masts, and we observed that all the Ships of War had their Fore Top-sails loose, as a signal for sailing, and Blue Peter flying. – Sir Eyre Coote immediately as the Ship came to anchor, went on board the *Venerable*,⁴⁵ where he found Lord Chatham, & Sir Richard Strachan,⁴⁶ the Naval Commander of the Expedition. – They were both so anxious to sail, that it was, at one time, in their contemplation to have ordered our Division not to anchor, but to stand out to Sea. – This, however, Sir Eyre was most anxious to prevent, as his division had sailed from Portsmouth unprovided with several of the most essential articles of Equipment, which were to be collected at Portsmouth previous to his arrival, he was therefore very desirous of ascertaining their existence. – On this subject we had a warm tho' friendly altercation with Sir Rich[ar]d Strachan, who was strenuous for our departure, without consideration to our state of preparation. – It was at length determined that the *Venerable* with Lord Chatham & the Admiral on board, should sail that Evening; and that the fleet should go the next morning in 3 Divisions, viz. one at 7 and the other at 8 o'clock; the third, which was composed of our Force, was to follow as soon as possible afterwards. – After such hasty arrangements, it behoved us to make the best of our time, and therefore every measure was adopted for improving it.

⁴⁵ HMS *Venerable* (1808), a 74-gun third-rate vessel and temporarily the expedition's flagship.

⁴⁶ Sir Richard John Strachan (1760–1828). Strachan had entered the Navy in 1772. In contrast with Chatham, he had a long history of active service, and had become a household name after Trafalgar, when his capture of four escaped French vessels completed Nelson's victory (for which he received the thanks of Parliament and a pension). He had virtually no experience of amphibious operations, although he had served as a subordinate during an expedition to Ferrol in 1800 and had commanded the British blockading force in the Scheldt basin. See Thomas W. Wise, 'The life and naval career of Admiral Sir Richard John Strachan', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 2 (1873), 39–40; Carl A. Christie, 'The Walcheren Expedition of 1809', PhD thesis, University of Dundee, 1975, pp. 76–77.

July 28th.

At day light this morning the signal was made for the first division to weigh, & before 7 o'clock, the 2nd followed. We were then in momentary dread of being ordered to sail, but fortunately Rear-Admiral Otway, who was left to bring as [sic – out?] the fleet, & who was sensible of our unprepared state, sent word to Sir Eyre Coote, that he did not intend to put to sea until the following morning at day light. – It began unfortunately to blow fresh about ten o'clock, which impeded & latter [sic – later] entirely precluded the possibility of any communication between the different Ships. – Sir Eyre Coote made two fruitless & even dangerous attempts to reach the Admiral's Ships: and the Ass[istan]t Ad[jutan]t Gen[era]ls & Majors of Brigade, who had come on board the *Impetueux* for orders, were detained by the wind & tide until 4 o'clock in the Afternoon. – This was most unpropitious to us, but still, Sir Eyre managed by perseverance to effect a good deal during the day, tho' we were certainly still in a state of very imperfect readiness. – The Medical Department especially was very badly conducted: the Commissariat & Engineers were also far from compleat in their arrangements.

29th

As early as 4 o'clock the signal was made to get under weigh, with a steady breeze from the South West: this, however, rapidly encreased & by nine o'clock it blew a gale of Wind. At about 2 o'clock we came in view of the first Buoy Vessel, anchored on the Shoals & by four o'clock we were at an anchor abreast of West Capel, distant about 6 miles. – The Wind did not abate much during the night, & blowing right on shore our hopes of debarkation on this coast, which was the intention, were very feeble.

30th.

The Wind still continuing fresh & a high surf running on shore, we began to despair of effecting a landing: when to our general surprize, the Admiral made the signal for the fleet to get under weigh. – We accordingly did so, Sir Rich[ar]d Strachan leading, and ranging close to the shore, anchored off Fort Den Haak, on the North side of the Island, by which movement, we secured a smooth beach, so long as the Wind remained in its present quarter, S.S.W.⁴⁷ – The signals for preparing to land, cooking 3 days Provisions &etc were now made, and were immediately followed by those for the men to get into the boats & assemble round certain Ships. – Great confusion, however, prevailed from the circumstance of

⁴⁷ Due to the unfavourable weather conditions, the entire British fleet was guided through the Veere Gat passage and into the sheltered anchorage of the Roompot on the north-eastern side of Walcheren: Strachan to William Wellesley Pole, 4 Aug 1809, *A Collection of Papers*, pp. 407–411; Chatham to Castlereagh, 2 Aug 1809, *A Collection of Papers*, pp. 69–73. The beach in question was Breezand.

some of the Men of War having grounded. – Sir Eyre Coote, as soon as we had grounded, went on board the *Venerable*, during which time the signal was made from the *Impetueux* for all General Officers & Majors of Brigade. – On his return on board, Sir Eyre gave to each General Officer, a copy of the dispositions he had made for the operations of his force, in whatever quarter it might be landed; and to the B[riga]de Majors a copy of the General Orders for the debarkation was given, which had been prepared for them to save time.⁴⁸ – The *Caesar*,⁴⁹ having on board the 68th Reg[imen]t being aground, the 3rd Batt[alio]n of the Royals was substituted in its place. – At about 2 o'clock, the boats began to assemble, but did so very slowly, owing to the want of arrangement on the part of the Navy, which was very great indeed. – No regularity whatever in the arrangement of the Boats prevailed, nor did there appear any fixed or settled plan.⁵⁰ It was past Six in the Evening before the Boats were all ready to start, and then it was without regularity or order, the men in them both Sailors & Soldiers huzzaing, and advancing to the shore in a promiscuous manner. – It was most fortunate that we had no enterprising Enemy to oppose us, for formed in cluster as the boats were, their Artillery must have caused dreadful havock among our boats, & from the partial manner in which they took the ground many of the men must have been cut off in detail. However, it happened that we were suffered to land without any other opposition than the ineffectual discharge of a few Guns at our boats.⁵¹ – Several Bombs & Gun Brigs, with a few Gun boats were close in shore & kept up a warm fire against the shore, which was not required or returned. – Immediately after the Troops had landed, they formed by Battalions & swiftly ascended the Sand-hills, at the back of which was an extensive wood, in to which our Light Troops entered & a sharp fire was kept up, the consequence of which was the capture of Two field Guns, the one a Six & the other a Three pounder, and about One Hundred & Fifty Deserters mostly all Prussians, pressed into the French Service. – The 71st Reg[imen]t was then detached to [the] left to take a small battery of Two Guns, at the Signal post, on the left of our debarkation: this was easily effected, with the loss of one killed & one wounded.

But previous to detailing our operations on shore, I cannot refrain from noticing the very unmilitary & improper scene that happened on the ground, by

⁴⁸ A copy of these instructions (actually dated 29 Jul) can be found in Thomas Graham's papers, National Library of Scotland, Lynedoch MS 3605, f. 183. The landing should have taken place near Domburg, on the north-western coast.

⁴⁹ HMS *Caesar* (1793) was one of only two 80-gun third rate vessels in the British Navy.

⁵⁰ There *was* a plan, but, as Col Long (the Adjutant-General) observed dryly, 'it did not precisely take place' (National Army Museum, R.B. Long MSS, 1968-07-219, Box 3, f. 628).

⁵¹ 'There was nothing to oppose us but a single Battery of seven Guns, which our Gun Boats silenced before our Troops came within half a mile of the Shore': Lord Lowther to Lord Lonsdale, 2 Aug 1809, Cumbria Record Office, Lonsdale MSS, DLONS L1/2/70, f. 7.

the appearance of Lord Chatham & his immense retinue.⁵² – Every Officer comprising it from the highest to the lowest, would give his opinion, & insist before the face of the very Generals in command, that it ought to be adopted. – Then, every Deserter who came in, of which there were many, was immediately detained & questioned by them. – *In fine* such confusion & irregularity, I never before beheld. At about $\frac{1}{2}$ past Eight o'clock Lord Chatham & his Staff left us, on horseback, for they had contrived to get their Horses on shore, and proceeded along the Shore towards the supposed formidable Battery of Den Haak, which, however, was anything but strong from the land, and which had been evacuated by the Enemy, after the Guns, 8 in number had been spiked. – We took a position on the Sand-hills, detaching the 36th to the support of the 71st Reg[imen]t on the left whither L[ieutenant]-General Fraser had moved, conformably to his Instructions. – There we passed the night, which was extremely wet & tempestuous. – Fortunately, we found a good deal of Brush Wood on the ground, which enabled us to keep out the cold in some measure. – The greater part of the Troops were disembarked during the night & remained on the Beach & in the morning no Troops remained on board, but the 51st and 7 Companies of the 14th Reg[imen]t.

July 31st

A short time before day light, while we were drinking some Tea made in a Kettle round a good fire, information came to Sir Eyre Coote, that a deputation from the Town of Middleburg [sic] had arrived in our Lines. – General Sontag,⁵³ who was staying with us, immediately went to meet them and upon his Return with the Deputies, acquainted Sir Eyre Coote, that they had been sent with proposals of surrender. – After reading them, Sir Eyre determined to proceed to Den Haak, where the Comm[ander] of the Forces had passed the night, & lay the proposals before him for his consideration. In the mean while the Deputies remained with us, much to their annoyance, as they were most desirous of returning to Middleburg to relieve the anxiety of their fellow Citizens. – It was, however, a long time before Sir Eyre Coote came back, & after a short deliberation the Capitulation was signed, much to the satisfaction of both Parties. – On their side, they secured their property, & saved a fine town from the horrors of a Siege, while

⁵² Chatham officially had three aides, but the actual list was longer. The three 'official' ADCs were Maj. H.H. Bradford, Capt. W.H. Gardner, and Capt. W.F. Hadden. The additional ADCs were Capt. D. Falla, Maj. Linsingen, and Lords Robert and Charles Manners. Chatham's testimony, 27 Feb 1810, William Cobbett (ed.) *Parliamentary Debates from the year 1803 to the present time*, vol. XV (London, 1815), Appendix, ccclxxxii.

⁵³ John Sontag (1747–1816), a native Dutchman who was naturalised British in 1780, was one of the officers attached to the expedition who was most familiar with the military defences of Antwerp, partly because of his background. He was also one of the few generals later willing to admit his optimism for the campaign's outcome: Sontag's testimony, 6 Mar 1810, *Parliamentary Debates*, Appendix, cccclii. For more on Sontag, see Ron McGuigan and Robert Burnham, *Wellington's Brigade Commanders: Peninsula and Waterloo* (Barnsley, 2017), e-book edition.

we ensured ourselves abundant supplies. – During the night we spent on the Sands, we had been disturbed by the arrival of Colonel Long,⁵⁴ the Adjutant General, who informed us that L[ieutenant]-Colonel Pack,⁵⁵ of the 71st Reg[imen]t, after taking Den Haak Battery, had advanced too incautiously upon the Town of Veer [sic], and had actually got close to the Draw-Bridge when the Garrison sallied out upon the five Companies he had with him, & in a few minutes opened so destructive a fire upon them from some Field pieces, that 7 men were killed & 27 wounded, besides the Ass[istan]t Surgeon killed. – They then made a hasty a retreat [sic] as possible but not without having a few Prisoners taken by the Enemy.

At One P.M. this day, the whole Army being landed, advanced from the Sand-hills, in two Columns. – The Right Column, consisting of Major-General Graham's⁵⁶ Division, followed by that under the command of Lord Paget.⁵⁷ – The Left Column, composed of Brig[adier]-General Houston's⁵⁸ Brigade. – The Country thro' which we advanced immediately after descending the Sand-hills, was thickly wooded & enclosed, & most highly cultivated. – It was such as to have rendered our progress most difficult, had the Enemy defended it with a few Sharp-Shooters; But this was not the case, & we reached the position we intended to occupy without hearing a shot fired, or seeing a single Enemy. – It extended from Meliskerke, on the right, where Major-General Graham was posted, thro' Grypskerke,⁵⁹ occupied by L[ieutenant]-Gen[eral] Lord Paget, to St Laurens on the left, where Brigadier-General Houston, was stationed. The Commander of the Forces, with all his collateral Staff arrived at Grypskerke, at the same time we did, and so crowded the place, that it was with difficulty, we could obtain a lodging. – Sir Eyre Coote's situation, in this command, appears to be most extraordinary: He was put in orders as the Officer, to whom the attack of Walcheren was confided, & he no sooner lands than he finds the Commander of the Forces, with all his Staff, close at his heels; and the moment he moves on, he is followed, & tho' his measures are not exactly thwarted or opposed, yet they are much impeded by the various opinions and advice forced upon him. – It is altogether a most anomalous situation. – In the course of the Evening a patrol of 8 or 9 men of the Enemy, was taken near Meliskerke: the Prisoners stated that they belonged to a Battalion of 800 men, who had that day marched from Flushing, & taken a position at Zoutelande [sic]. The orders were issued this evening by Sir Eyre Coote for the advance of tomorrow, and a copy of the intended operations sent to each General Officer, commanding a Column for his

⁵⁴ Robert Ballard Long (1771–1825).

⁵⁵ Sir Denis Pack (1772–1823).

⁵⁶ Sir Thomas Graham (later Lord Lynedoch) (1748–1843).

⁵⁷ Henry, Lord Paget (later Earl of Uxbridge and Marquess of Anglesey) (1768–1854). Paget was currently in disgrace, having eloped with the sister-in-law of Sir Arthur Wellesley. He saw little active service during the second half of the Napoleonic Wars beyond Walcheren, until he famously lost his leg at the battle of Waterloo.

⁵⁸ Sir William Houston (1766–1842).

⁵⁹ Grijskerke.

information. – The town of Veere, had been invested by Lieut[enant]-General Fraser this morning, & summoned, but the terms demanded by the Garrison were deemed inadmissible, and therefore the Flotilla commenced a very heavy well directed fire against it, which was warmly returned, & one of our Gun-boats sunk. – It was then thought advisable to erect a Battery of Two Mortars & Two Twenty Four Pounders against the Town, which was accordingly done.

August 1st.

At day light this day, a Flag of Truce came out of Veere to General Fraser's Camp to demand a Capitulation which was granted. – The greater part of the Garrison, had taken advantage of the night to make their escape over to the opposite shore. – The possession of a fortified place like Veere was of the first consequence to us, as it gave us a good & secure landing place, and proper Dépôt for our Stores of every description.⁶⁰

Shortly after day light this morning the Troops under Sir Eyre Coote were in motion, advancing in Three Columns, for the Investment of Flushing. – The Column on the right, under the command of Major-General Graham, was destined to move along the Sand-hills, for the purpose of carrying the several Batteries on the Coast. – This important service, which however, did not prove so arduous, as our idea of the strength of the batteries led us to imagine, was effected by the Major-General with great precision & ability. – The Center [sic] Column was under the superintendence of Lord Paget, which after dislodging the Enemy's advanced picquets from the Village of Coudekerke,⁶¹ where several Deserters came over to us, advanced without any opposition, until its arrival on the ground it was to occupy, where in establishing the necessary posts in front, it was warmly opposed & suffered a considerable loss, owing, however, in a great measure to the rash bravery of our men, who pursued the Enemy close to the draw bridge of the town, exposed to a most gallant [sic] & destructive fire. – Among the foremost, was the 85th who of course suffered severely.⁶² – In the course of the evening the 68th also lost a considerable loss [sic]: – That Brigade was relieved about 5 o'clock by B[rigadie]r General Browne, who was wounded in the face by a Musquet Ball.⁶³ – The Left Column, composed only of the 51st and 82nd under B[rigadie]r General Houston's command, was attacked on its march by a considerable body

⁶⁰ The author of *Letters from Flushing* alluded to the state of Veere after Fraser's bombardment: 'My division is for the present at Campveer [Camveere, an alternative name for Veere], where we have had to hold guard over smoking ruins.' *Letters from Flushing*, p. 42.

⁶¹ Koudekerke.

⁶² 'It is generally reported in the army that they would have succeeded [in taking Flushing], had it not been deemed advisable to call them off. The garrison of Flushing were panic-struck at the daring attempt.' *Letters from Flushing*, p. 44. Chatham seems to have been the one to call off the attack, no doubt exacerbating the growing friction with Coote: Capt. Falla (one of Chatham's supernumerary ADCs) to Gen. LeMarchant, 5 Aug 1809, quoted in Christie, 'The Walcheren Expedition', p. 278.

⁶³ Gore Browne (1764–1843). The musket ball 'broke his teeth and jaw, but without disfiguring him'. *Gentleman's Magazine* 1843, vols. 173–4, p. 534.

of the Enemy, who had strongly intrenched himself within a short distance of Middleburg. The attempt to impede its advance, was however rendered vain, by the able disposition of the Br[igadier]-General, & the gallantry of the advance, under L[ieutenant]-Colonel Mainwaring of the 51st Reg[imen]t.⁶⁴ – The Enemy was driven from his position with considerable loss: – Three Guns were taken from the intrenchments, & the fourth was abandoned in front of East Souburg [sic], on the main road to Flushing.

– The whole of our concerted operations for the advance was compleated before Noon, & then the Army occupied a curved line, stretching from the Nolle Battery on the right to Oost Souburg [sic], on the left. – The absence of L[ieutenant]-General Fraser, employed with his Division for the reduction of Veere, prevented us from compleating more closely the investment of the Town. – A very heavy & incessant fire was kept up during the remainder of the day by the Enemy from the Guns of the place, as well as by his tirailleurs,⁶⁵ dispersed along our front. – The eagerness & imprudence of our men, who incautiously stood up when firing, & thereby discovered their situations, caused us to lose many more than we should otherwise have done.⁶⁶ – A small Wood, at the foot of the Dyke, on Gen[era]l Graham's right, was a source of contestation during the whole day, but we retained it, in spite of all the Enemy's efforts. – A Barn in the center of the Wood was riddled with shots & shells & in it we lost a good number of the Royals and 35th. – Nothing could surpass the steadiness of our Troops, under a most trying & severe Cannonade.

The night was passably quiet, a few straggling shots were fired by the Picquets at each other. – Sir Eyre Coote established his Head Quarter's at West Zouburg, as being the Village most in the Center of the Line: – We were lodged in an excellent, well-furnished house with fine Gardens and extensive grounds, belonging to Mynheer Waterlander,⁶⁷ a Brewer & Wine Merchant of great note, at Middelburg; He was absent at the time at Dort. Lord Chatham, with his numerous Staff, made his appearance after we had assumed our position – He fixed his Head Quarters at Middelburg, where the Heads of every Department of the Army, now assembled. – It seemed as though His Lordship was afraid that the ultimate object of the Expedition would not succeed, and therefore was determined to claim as his own, what little credit was carried by the reduction of Walcheren.⁶⁸ – Numerous Deserters came over to us in the Evening: They were

⁶⁴ John Montagu Mainwaring (c.1762–1842).

⁶⁵ French light infantrymen.

⁶⁶ Something light infantrymen or rifles, accustomed to firing from prone positions, would not have done. Cf. 6 August entry, when Walsh welcomes Brig-Gen Alten's light infantry reinforcements.

⁶⁷ Johannes Hermanus Waterlander, a brewer and co-owner of the company Waterlander and De Stoppelaar, and a director of the Middelburg Commercial Company. His house was at Nieuwstraat G 221: https://middelburgdronk.nl/wiki/Orli%C3%ABns_Bar#Waterlander.2F_De_Stoppelaar_in_het_pand_aan_Nieuwstraat_23 (accessed 15 Sep 2017).

⁶⁸ Chatham had planned to sail with 20,000 men down the West Scheldt directly to Antwerp, leaving Coote in command on Walcheren. As the fleet had been forced into the East Scheldt by strong winds, however, Chatham had chosen to accompany the most active part of the army until he could move onto Antwerp (Chatham to Castlereagh, 11 Aug 1809, *A Collection of Papers*, pp. 92–93); Reiter, *The Late Lord*, pp. 117–118.

mostly Prussians & Spaniards, taken by the French, in their Wars with those Powers & made to serve. – We sent off upwards of 300 of them to Middelburg, during this day.

August 2nd.

With day light, the popping of our eager but imprudent Soldiers commenced, & continued so during the greater part of the day: – We lost, in consequence, several of them Killed & Wounded. – The Batteries from the Town kept up an occasional firing, principally directed towards our right, where the small Wood before mentioned still continued the object of contention. – Several Houses along the front of our Picquets were set fire to by the French, with a view of clearing the intermediate ground, to give a greater scope to their Artillery. Three or Four Shots came into the Village of West Zouburg, and one in our Garden. – The Town of Veer surrendered this day to L[ieutenant]-General Fraser, before our Land Batteries had began [sic] to play. – The loss on both sides was small. – Two of our Gun-boats were sunk by the Garrison, but the crews were saved. The Garrison, amounting to about 600 men, surrendered Prisoners of War. – A part of it, was stated to have escaped in the night to Schouen [sic], in boats. – Some of Congreve's rockets were fired into the Town, with success.⁶⁹ – L[ieutenant]-General Fraser's Division, with the exception of the 63rd Reg[imen]t left to occupy Veere, joined the Troops before Flushing, & immediately proceeded to invest the Fort of Rammekens, the only place remaining in possession of the French, besides Flushing. – The Fort was summoned but refused to surrender. – We now felt the full advantage of the early fall of Middelburg, which enabled us to direct our attention to one point. – Seven or Eight Boats full of Troops, got into Flushing from Cadsand, towards us, which caused us to regret bitterly that the Navy had not cut off the communication.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ The expedition sailed with 'every possible sort of instrument for destruction ever used in war – Congreve Rockets[,] Catamarands [sic], the infernal Machine': Lowther to Lord Lonsdale, 24 Jul 1809, Cumbria Record Office, Lonsdale MSS, DLONS L1/2/70, f. 6. The 'infernal machine' may have been an underwater torpedo designed by Robert Fulton, the American inventor; Castlereagh had explicitly given Chatham permission to use them during the campaign (Castlereagh to Chatham, 12 Jul 1809, TNA, War Office Papers, WO 6/143).

For more on the rockets of Sir William Congreve (1772–1828) and the inspiration behind them, see Simon Werrett, 'William Congreve's Rational Rockets', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 63(1) (2009), pp. 35–56, 40–41.

⁷⁰ The Army Proceedings (2 Aug) recorded 'Nine Schuyts full of Troops' crossing from Cadzand, 'as the present direction of the Wind favoured the passage from thence, and the Naval Blockade of the Garrison not being established, as was expected'. This unfortunate situation continued some days, arising out of the Marquess of Huntly's failure to land and disable the French batteries on Cadzand due to the weather and a lack of naval transports. Huntly's force was called off on 3 Aug, leaving Cadzand in French hands. Commodore Owen's testimony, 9 Feb 1810, *Parliamentary Debates*, XV, Appendix, ccii–iii.

August 3rd.

Our men improve by dear bought experience. The firing at the advance posts is much decreased, & the Sentries instead of standing up to be shot at, have learnt to conceal themselves as well as their situations will admit of – The Enemy seems annoyed at this prudent conduct, & expends much Ammunition to little purpose, which is only now & then returned by our Soldiers. – Little or no firing from the Town, the Garrison occupied in erecting a battery under the walls & cutting a deep Trench on its right Dyke. – Our Engineers at length applied for a Working Party to commence their first parallel in front of the Village of West Zouburg, by laying the foundation of a 6 Mortar Battery. – The Fort of Rammekens surrendered this day to L[ieutenant]-General Fraser. – The Garrison consisting of 127 men, to be Prisoners of War. – The Fort capitulated before a Battery of 3 Twenty Four Pounders, and Two 8 Inch Mortars, erected against it had opened its fire. – We had the mortification of seeing Eleven large Schuyts, full of Troops sail into Flushing, this Evening, and of being convinced that so long as the Navy does not cut off the communication with Cadsand, the Town cannot be by us, invested. – Until that important operation has taken place, Flushing is nothing more or less than a Tête de Pont, to the whole of France, where, when a sufficient force has been assembled, a serious attack will be made on the Besiegers, thus becoming the Besieged, who have no Second Line or Reserve, in support of an extensive straggling Line.⁷¹ – Lieut[enant]-General Grosvenor's Division, landed at Veere this morning march into the Lines, at 9 o'clock this Evening. – It comprises 5000 men, quite fresh, and is therefore a most valuable addition to our Force.⁷² – The Reg[imen]ts comprising it, are the 11th 2 Batt[alion], 59th 2d Batt[alion], 79th 1st Batt[alion] under Major-General Leith, forming the 7th Brigade. – The 2d or Queens 76th and 84th 2d Batt[alion] under Brig[adier]-General Acland, forming the 3rd Brigade.

August 4th.

There was a good deal of firing from the Works of Flushing and our advanced Picquets were annoyed more than during the last two days. – The Work in front of West Zouburg went on but very slowly, in spite of Sir Eyre Coote's remonstrances & entreaties with the Chief Engineer, L[ieutenant]-Colonel D'Arcy,⁷³ who, tho' indefatigable himself, wants system & arrangement, without which it is impossible to go on properly. – Working Parties were detained &

⁷¹ Chatham had hoped 'that on the fall of Ramakins [sic], the Flotilla assembled for the Bombardment of it would complete the Naval Investment of Flushing on the sea-side', but this did not take place till 7 Aug (Proceedings of the Army, 3 Aug 1809). Prior to this, the French managed to reinforce Flushing nearly every day.

⁷² Lt.-Gen. Grosvenor, whose men had originally been part of the force destined for Antwerp, was sent to aid the besieging troops due to the French reinforcements from Cadzand.

⁷³ Robert d'Arcy (1751–1827), the chief engineer.

prevented from working, from the want of Officers to direct them, or Tools to work with. – About Seven o'clock this Evening, we beheld a most daring Exploit. – A Brig of War, accompanied by 4 or 5 Boats employed in Sounding, passed between Flushing & Cadsand, under a most tremendous uninterrupted fire from all the Sea Batteries. – After having effected the Passage, the Brig put about and repassed with the Boats. – In this last attempt she was dismasted, but towed to a place of Safety by the Boats. – The Cannonade was incessant not only from Flushing, but also from Breskens & the other Batteries on Cadsand. – It began to rain about Sun-set, and continued to do so during the entire night, much to the annoyance of our Troops, whose wigwams are ill calculated to keep out the Wet.⁷⁴

5th.

Very little firing on either side this day. – The Enemy seems tired of the Petty Warfare of advanced Posts, in which it is to be presumed he has suffered pretty severely. – Deserters continue coming in daily, they are mostly from two Prussian Battalions, and a Regiment of *Chasseurs Rentrés*, that is, men who have deserted or who being enrolled as Conscripts, had never joined until they entered into the Corps.

6th.

The 1st Light Infantry Battalion of the King's German Legion, joined the Troops before Flushing this day, as also 150 of the 2nd Battalion, the remainder of which is expected tomorrow. – This is a most acceptable reinforcement, as these Corps are uncommonly well trained to all the duties of advanced Posts, and will therefore save us a great number of men.⁷⁵ – They are under the command of B[rigadie]r General Baron Alten,⁷⁶ an excellent Officer. Sir Eyre Coote immediately made an arrangement for sending 100 Rank & File of these Riflemen, to each Division, for the purpose of occupying the front of their advance. – My Cousin⁷⁷ talks of going over to South Beveland, where our Troops are left very quiet; But in the

⁷⁴ The troops had been ordered to land in light order, leaving greatcoats and knapsacks on board ship and carrying only one days' provisions in their haversacks: General Order Book, 27 Jul 1809, TNA, Chatham MSS, PRO 30/8/262. The author of *Letters from Flushing* recorded that 'orders are given not to unload our baggage till ... Flushing shall be taken' (*Letters from Flushing*, p. 27). The troops thus had no access to tents and must have made their 'wigwams' out of whatever they could find.

⁷⁵ Like Grosvenor's division, the King's German Legion was a temporary reinforcement for Coote while the communications between Flushing and Cadzand remained open; its ultimate destination was to join the Reserve on South Beveland. Two days later, Chatham informed Sir John Hope that Lord Huntly and Lord Rosslyn, both of whom should also have landed on South Beveland, would be held in readiness to land on Walcheren if the French communication was not severed (Proceedings of the Army, 5 and 7 Aug 1809).

⁷⁶ Carl August von Alten (1764–1840), a Hanoverian officer.

⁷⁷ The words 'Lord Chatham' were originally written, but Walsh obviously thought this too indiscreet and scratched them out. Walsh was not related to Chatham, but presumably chose the words 'my cousin' because they matched the marks that remained from his scratching out.

meantime he continues at Middelburg, and comes over to the Lines every day at 2 o'clock, just at the time we are sitting down to dinner, from which he of course disturbs us. – It is very extraordinary that he does not choose a more seasonable time for his visits, especially when he has so very little to do at Middelburg. – I fear my relation⁷⁸ has but few of the requisites of a Soldier: – Indolence & apathy appear to be the leading traits of his character. – In a moment of anxiety & exertion like the present, it is quite provoking to behold the air of total unconcern & the want of animation which pervades his Countenance. – I wish to God he had never volunteered with this Army, as it will not redound much to his credit or the satisfaction of his friends.⁷⁹ – Our Lines extend from Six to Seven Miles, from the Nolle Battery on the Sand Hills to the right, along the road to West Zouburg, & so on thro' East Zouburg & Ruttern to the Sea, in front of Rammekens, which forms our Left. – The Line so occupied is so considerable that we cannot afford to have any Troops in Reserve. – The Reg[imen]ts are posted as follows from right to left. – Royals, 35th, 5th, 14th under Major-General Graham. – 11th 79th 59th 2nd 84th 76th under Lieut[enant]-General Grosvenor, with Major-General Leith⁸⁰ & B[rigadie]r General Acland.⁸¹ – The 81st 32nd 85th 68th 95th & 26th under Lieut[enant]-General Lord Paget, with B[rigadie]r General De Rottenburg⁸² and Colonel Mahon.⁸³ – The 82nd & 51st under B[rigadie]r General Houston, and the 36th Battalion of Embodied Detachments,⁸⁴ 77th & 71st next the Sea under Lieut[enant]-General Fraser, with Major-General Picton.⁸⁵

Our Working Parties are going on, but slowly. – Sir Eyre Coote cannot get L[ieutenant]-Col[onel] D'Arcy to come to any settled plan. – We are now working at the Mortar Battery, in front of West Zouburg, & have commenced a Battery for five 24 Pounders in advance of the other, to the left of the paved Foot path, leading to Flushing, called Le Chemin des Dames. – No firing at all this day, which is the more surprizing, as the Enemy must suspect what we are about, our working parties being so near their advanced Sentries. – Capt[ain] Barer DAAG temporarily attached to L[ieutenant]-General Fraser had been sent in yesterday with a Flag of Truce relating to the French Off[ice]rs taken at Rammekens, along

⁷⁸ The words 'his Lordship' can just be made out beneath 'my relation'.

⁷⁹ Chatham's indolence was notorious, so much so that he had earned the nickname of 'the late Lord Chatham' while First Lord of the Admiralty. Stories of his laziness were often exaggerated, but had a firm basis in fact, and his behaviour during the Walcheren campaign suggests he did not change his habits. For more see Reiter, *The Late Lord*, esp. pp. 119–120.

⁸⁰ James Leith (1763–1816).

⁸¹ Wroth Palmer Acland (1770–1816).

⁸² Franz de Rottenburg (1757–1832), a native of Danzig who had volunteered with the British Army in the 1790s.

⁸³ Thomas Mahon (later 2nd Baron Hartland) (1766–1835).

⁸⁴ A corps created specifically for Walcheren to use a pool of over 3,000 men waiting in the British Isles to be drafted to other regiments already serving overseas, and who would otherwise have been prevented by the Army's regimental system from going on active service. Andrew Bamford, *Sickness, Suffering and the Sword: the British Regiment on campaign, 1808–1815* (Norman, OK, 2013), pp. 134–137.

⁸⁵ Sir Thomas Picton (1758–1815).

the Middelburg Paved Road, and was fired at, by which his horse & the Trumpeters were wounded. A Report having come in shortly afterwards, that a French Off[ice]r had communicated to one of ours, that the Flag of Truce had been fired on by mistake, – I was ordered by Sir Eyre Coote to go to the French advanced Post to enquire into the circumstance. I accordingly did so, & went up, in company with L[ieutenant]-Col[onel] Maxwell of the 26th Reg[imen]t who was on Picquet, close to the French Centinel [sic], who, in the most treacherous manner lay down his firelock to give us confidence, and when we got quite close snatched it up, & fired at us. – This day, I was directed to take a letter from Sir Eyre Coote to General Monnet⁸⁶ complaining of this Outrage. – I therefore proceeded to the same spot I had gone to the preceding day & got to the spot the Centinel had fired on me from, when finding nobody there, I returned & went along the Middelburg Road till I came close to the French Picquet with a White Flag in my Hand, & the Trumpeter, blowing his Trumpet most lustily, there I remained until the advanced Centinel, at the distance of not more than 30 paces fired at me. – I then naturally returned, which was not easily accomplished as there lay 2 dead horses & a dead man on the road, which my spirited charger, was a long time before he would pass.

★

On this unpropitious note I have chosen to close the first part of Walsh's journal. The second will deal with the two-week period between the French *sortie* on 7 August and the shifting of British headquarters from Walcheren to South Beveland on 21 August. The most active period of the ill-fated expedition was about to begin.

⁸⁶ Louis Claude Monnet de Lorbeau (1766–1819), the military commander of Walcheren.

**‘OF NO SMALL IMPORTANCE’:
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE CAVALRY MOUSTACHE
c. 1790 – c. 1860.**

JOHN H. RUMSBY

The seemingly trivial topic of how a man grows his facial hair has long been the subject of control and identity in societies worldwide. Many religious sects even at the present day lay down rules for their followers on hair length and beard growth. Employers often seek to control their workers with similar restrictions. As recently as 2016 railway workers in Japan were reported to be suing their employer for inflicting ‘mental anguish’ by penalising them for growing beards.¹ It is no surprise therefore that the British Army in the nineteenth century attempted to regulate facial hair, usually with that inconsistency and whimsy that characterised most of its uniform regulations. Whilst most soldiers of all ranks apparently accepted uniform changes with equanimity, or at least resignation, the changes relating to facial hair – especially moustaches – often aroused indignation and resistance, especially in the cavalry. It is notable that although most memoirists made little or no mention of the uniforms they wore, moustaches and their regulation provoke frequent comment. Moustaches could be seen as an embarrassment to a soldier when such appendages were out of fashion in civilian life, but were more often seen as an adornment that set the ‘elite’ cavalryman apart from lesser breeds in other branches of the Army. Hence the indignation of ‘Miles Juvenis’ when he complained in 1832 about the abolition of moustaches for most of the Army: the order ‘trivial as it may appear to civilians, is to the military men whom it concerns of no small importance.’²

Throughout the eighteenth century, men in Britain were clean-shaven.³ There is an intriguing claim that the Worcestershire Militia was the first British regiment to wear the moustache in 1798.⁴ However, the introduction of moustaches is more usually associated with the many foreign regiments raised by Britain during the wars against France in the late eighteenth century. Indeed, as early as 1767 a civilian onlooker at a military review remarked ‘Saw a foreign hussar riding about in his uniform (not a good one) and whiskers.’⁵ Regiments such as the York Hussars, modelled on the Hungarian light cavalry who sported prominent moustaches as part of their national costume, certainly influenced British hussar uniform at a time when moustaches were out of fashion in civilian society. One

¹ *The Guardian* 15 March 2016.

² ‘Miles Juvenis,’ ‘The Lament of a Young Moustache.’ *United Service Journal* 1832 Part I, p. 397. Hereafter *USJ*.

³ Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years* (London, rev edn 1980), p. 302. I am indebted to the staff at the Bath Museum of Fashion for this and other sources.

⁴ Reginald Reynolds, *Beards. An Omnium Gatherum* (London, 1950) p. 262. No source is given for the claim.

⁵ Basil Cozens-Hardy (ed), *The Diary of Sylls Neville 1767-1788* (Oxford, 1950), p. 8, 25 May 1767.

of the earliest of these émigré regiments was the *Hulans Britannique*, formed in 1793 from French deserters with a few Germans and Swiss. A watercolour of about this date shows a lancer of the regiment wearing a long, thin moustache, suggesting that moustaches were not the exclusive feature of the hussar, but were shared by other cavalymen.⁶ The moustache was consequently associated by the British population with German and other foreign allies, who were by no means popular. A detachment of the moustached 15th Hussars ordered to keep the peace in London in 1810 was greeted by the mob with shouts to 'the little hairy-mouthed fellows.'⁷ The radical Sir Francis Burdett, whose arrest had precipitated the 1810 riot, in a speech to Parliament in 1812 criticizing the Army, railed against the influx of foreign troops, and 'even our own soldiers were compelled to wear the German Dress and Whiskers; as if the whiskered face of a German was more formidable to the enemy than the smooth open countenance of an Englishman.'⁸ Its foreign nature was indeed one of the chief objections to the hussar moustache. Some officers of the 10th Hussars found themselves hounded out of a theatre in Portsmouth in 1812 to cries of 'Mounseers – German moustache rascals, and bl__dy Frenchmen.'⁹ The 7th, 10th, 15th and 18th Light Dragoons had been converted to hussars in 1805–07, and all were ordered to adopt the moustache.¹⁰ However, while the Other Ranks had to follow orders, problems arose with officers who, being stationed in England, wished to continue the social life of their class unencumbered by foreign whiskers. The Colonel of the 15th Hussars was forced to rescind the order for his officers to wear the moustache because '... it being difficult to preserve uniformity in this respect from the frequent leave of absence granted, when they are usually cut off.'¹¹ This is probably why Sir Bellingham Graham of the 10th Hussars chose to be painted in about 1810 in full hussar uniform, but clean-shaven.¹² It therefore appears that at this date the cavalry moustache was regarded more as a stigma than a distinction. George Luard of the 18th Hussars was certainly still prejudiced against the fashion for 'mustachios' in 1813, although many of his fellow officers were not only accepting of them, but willing to expand their hirsute appendages:

You must not say these [moustaches] are horrible for we Hussars cannot appear without them – They not only wear these ugly things, but have carried this german [sic] fashion to so great a pitch, that there is hardly an Officer in any

⁶ C.A. Linney, 'The Origins and Formation of the First British Lancer Regiments 1793–1823,' *JSAHR* LXVIII (1990), pp. 84–5 and Fig. 1.

⁷ 'Chelsea Pensioner' [Sgt Major Tale], *Jottings from My Sabretasche* (London, 1847), pp. 120–2.

⁸ John Mollo, *The Prince's Dolls. Scandals, Skirmishes and Splendours of the Hussars, 1793–1815* (London, 1997), p. 100.

⁹ Mollo, *Prince's Dolls*, p. 101. See also pp. 105 and 192 for similar patriotic objections.

¹⁰ For a general account of this conversion and the uniform implications see Michael Barthorp, *British Cavalry Uniforms since 1660* (Poole, 1984), pp. 72–7.

¹¹ H.C. Wyllie, *XV (The King's) Hussars, 1759 to 1913* (London, 1914), p. 138.

¹² Reproduced in Barthorp, *British Cavalry Uniforms* p. 72.

*of the three Hussar Regiments that shaves any part of his Chin, so that they appear more like Jews than British Officers.*¹³

By this date therefore it appears that most hussar officers were reconciled to moustache-wearing, perhaps because they had become accepted in polite society.¹⁴ Indeed, they were adopted unofficially, at least on active service, by artillery officers.¹⁵ By 1812 it was necessary to issue an order for light dragoons and heavy cavalry to remove their moustaches, suggesting that they had come to be regarded as the mark of the cavalry.¹⁶ By the end of the war, in a situation that must have frustrated those in the War Office with strong views on such matters, there appears to have been a whiskery free-for-all, to judge by contemporary illustrations. A series of paintings by J.P. Fischer shows heavy cavalry officers clean-shaven, but also a clean-shaven hussar in 1814; in a painting of 1817 the heavy cavalry are still clean-shaven, but the 9th and 16th Lancers (recently converted from light dragoons) wear moustaches.¹⁷ Most also wear the heavy side-whiskers in fashion at the time. As lancers were regarded as another foreign import, the moustache was apparently considered appropriate to that new arm of the cavalry. On returning from India, the 17th Light Dragoons were notified that they had been converted to lancers, and amongst other changes were ordered to cease shaving the upper lip. As Fortescue remarks, 'The spectacle of 250 bristly upper lips must in itself have been somewhat disquieting.'¹⁸ Even Yeomanry officers were catching on to the appeal of the moustache as a mark of the cavalryman. A painting of an officer of the Surrey Yeomanry Cavalry of c.1819-20 shows him wearing a long, thin, drooping moustache of 'Continental' fashion.¹⁹

By the 1820s it appears that there was little control over the state of a soldier's (or at least officer's) whiskers, although individual regiments might have their own style. The 1st Life Guards' Standing Orders, for example, stated severely 'No Officer to have his hair cut but according to regimental form...'.²⁰ A painting of Lieutenant Henry Witham of the 17th Lancers in 1827 shows him with carefully coiffed curly moustache, and also a small beard on the point of the chin, following

¹³ Letter from Spain 19 September 1813, quoted in Clive Cohen, 'Brothers in War.' in Andrew Cormack (ed.), *'a damned nice thing... the nearest run thing you ever saw in your life...'* *A Peninsular and Waterloo Anthology* SAHR Special Publication No 17 (London, 2015), p. 47.

¹⁴ See for example the painting of moustachioed officers of the Tenth Hussars 1813, reproduced in A E H Miller and N.P. Dawnay, *Military Drawings and Paintings in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London, 2nd edn 1969), Vol. 1, pl. 192.

¹⁵ Reynolds, *Beards*, p. 262, quoting a Wellington Dispatch of 1811.

¹⁶ Marquess of Anglesey, *A History of the British Cavalry 1816 to 1919: Volume I 1816 to 1850* (London, 1973), p. 154.

¹⁷ Miller and Dawnay, *Military Drawings and Paintings*, Vol. 1, pls 211- 213.

¹⁸ J.W. Fortescue, *A History of the 17th Lancers (Duke of Cambridge's Own)* (London, 1895), p. 122.

¹⁹ L.E. Buckall, 'The Surrey Yeomanry Cavalry.' *JSAHR* XXVIII (1950), pp. 171-2 and plate.

²⁰ *Standing Orders for the First Regiment of Life Guards* (London, 1827), p. 13. The particular copy consulted was issued to an officer in 1836.

civilian fashion.²¹ Curled hair could be produced with the aid of a hot iron, and one author – who claimed to be a cavalry officer – offered a recipe for hair-oil.²² This was the period when the 17th Lancers were known as ‘Bingham’s Dandies’ after their commander – 1826-37 – George Lord Bingham (later Lord Lucan). The term ‘dandy’ did not necessarily imply the wearing of moustaches, having originated with the ascendancy of Beau Brummell c.1800-1816, but continued throughout the century to denote a man who devoted his life to understated and fashionable elegance. As Ellen Moers remarks, dandyism was all about ‘the determined way it went about exclusion, the innumerable hedges against intruders, the explicit, almost codified rules for membership, and the elaborate sub-rules for the behaviour of members.’²³ For the wealthy, often aristocratic corps of light cavalry officers serving in Britain, the moustache was one more way of demonstrating their exclusivity. Nor were such affectations confined to the cavalry. Infantry officers attempted to encroach on the cavalry’s moustachioed privileges. The Adjutant General, Sir Henry Torrens complained in 1828 that moustaches were ‘...now growing into very general extent throughout the service.’ He had attempted to ‘put down’ moustaches in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers in Ireland in 1824, but when they transferred to Gibraltar, they again grew them as other corps in the Mediterranean wore them. Torrens had been unable to find any precise order or regulation on the subject, even for hussars, but regarded moustaches as ‘...un-English and a hindrance to recruiting.’²⁴ One wonders whether many potential recruits were really put off from joining the cavalry by the prospect of growing a moustache, since they were popular with all ranks.

With the accession of King William IV in 1830, however, cavalrymen received a rude shock, in the form of a Horse Guards Circular which not only ordered that all cavalry except the Royal Horse Guards (Blue) were to be clothed in red (and even the facings of the Royal Navy were changed to red), but that their facial hair was to be closely regulated:

*The mustachios of the cavalry (excepting in the Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards, and the Hussars) to be abolished, and the hair of the non-commissioned officer and soldier throughout the regular forces, to be cut close at the sides and at the back of the head, instead of being worn in that bushy and unbecoming fashion adopted by some regiments.*²⁵

²¹ A. McK Annand, ‘Lieutenant Henry Witham, 17th Lancers, 1827.’ *JSAHR* XLI (1963), 28-30.

²² ‘Cavalry Officer,’ *The Whole Art of Dress! Or, the Road to Elegance and Fashion at the Enormous Saving of Thirty Per Cent!!!* (London, 1830), quoted in Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, p. 400.

²³ Ellen Moers, *The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm* (New York, 1960), p. 41.

²⁴ Memo of 11 February 1828, quoted in T.J. Edwards, *Military Customs* (rev edn, Aldershot, 1961) pp. 205-8.

²⁵ Horse Guards Circular 2 August 1830. Torrens died in 1828, so the order cannot be put down to his influence.

These changes seem to have been due to the personal taste of the King, and his determination that his armed forces should be more 'British' in appearance. The order for abolition of moustaches may have been prompted by the appearance of the 9th Lancers, who had provided the Royal escort at Hampton Court in 1830.²⁶ The cavalry were outraged, not least by the inconsistency of the order. Charles Philip De Ainslie, a captain in the 1st Dragoons, complained that 'The appearance of the regiment suffered a good deal; while the infantry, who had always been very jealous of our moustaches, were enchanted.'²⁷ A writer to the *United Service Journal* pointed out the illogicality of the order:

*The moustache was ordered to be discontinued in consequence of his Majesty's dislike of every thing not perfectly English, and yet strange to say, the only regiments allowed to retain this foreign ornament, are HIS MAJESTY'S OWN HOUSEHOLD TROOPS, and the Hussars, to the dress of which latter corps (says the General Order on the subject) the moustache belongs, and why? Because hussars are altogether foreign.'*²⁸

De Ainslie revealed one reason for the cavalry's devotion to the moustache, when he remarked on the infantry's jealousy. By this date, the moustache set the cavalry apart from their brethren in the infantry, as well as from civilians. For this reason, '...trivial as such an order may appear, there never was one yet issued so universally unpopular, or so disliked.'²⁹ The same writer extolled the martial appearance of the moustache:

I only ask any military man to go down the line of a cavalry brigade, and tell me which looks the most imposing, the most martial, and the most befitting its description of force, the stern frowning of the moustached regiment, or the sheep-faced, methodistical, soap-and-water appearance of the shorn ones?

From Burdett's 'smooth open countenance' to sheep-faced and methodistical... The cavalry moustache had reached complete acceptance at the very moment of its seeming abolition. Despite Torrens' views, 'Miles Juvenis' assured his readers that the ordinary soldiers shared this dismay at the loss of the moustache. Another writer also saw the moustache as an incentive to cavalry recruitment, referring to '...the dangling sword, the dashing dress, the attractive moustache, so mixed up with all ideas of soldiering...'³⁰ Alexander Somerville recounts an incident on the occasion of his enlistment that illustrates the part that moustaches now played in the soldiers' ideas of their own masculinity. Unusually, they had to seek out the recruiting corporal of the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys) in his lodgings, instead of in a public house:

²⁶ John Anstruther Thomson, *Eighty Years' Reminiscences* (London, 1904) Vol. 1, p. 67.

²⁷ C P De Ainslie, *Life as I have Found It* (Edinburgh, 1883), p. 65.

²⁸ 'J.W.G,' 'Moustaches.' *USJ* 1832, Part I, p. 543. The emphases are J.W.G's own.

²⁹ 'Miles Juvenis,' 'Lament'.

³⁰ 'Moustache,' 'The British Soldier.' *USJ* 1841, Part I, p. 394.

*He said he was glad to see anybody upstairs in his little place now that the regimental order had come out against moustachios; for since he had been ordered to shave his off, his wife had sat moping at the fireside, refusing all consolation to herself and all peace to him... "I'm sure she grat [wept] as if her heart would ha'e broken, when she saw me the first day without the moustachios".*³¹

The corporal decided Somerville and his friend would make suitable recruits, '...and as neither seemed to have any beard from which moustachios could grow, he could only congratulate us on the order that had come out against them, as we should not have to be at the expense of getting burnt cork to blacken our upper lips, to make us look uniform with those who wore hair.' The commanding officer of the Scots Greys had done his best to gain exemption from the order, appealing to the Commander-in-Chief Lord Hill on the grounds of the regiment's military record. No doubt Hill was immediately aware of setting a precedent that would be cited by every other clean-shaven and gallant cavalry regiment. His reply was a model of emollient humour:

*Lord Hill is persuaded that the distinguished character of the Royal North British Dragoons can derive no additional weight from the wearing of moustachios.*³²

The indignation of the cavalry at the order to remove moustaches appears to be the subject of an otherwise undated popular ballad, *The Soldier's Lament*.³³ The six verses of doggerel commence with the soldier's fears for the effect on his sweetheart:

*Adieu my mustaches! Farewell to my tip!
Lost, lost is the pride of my chin and my lip!
When Laura last saw me, she said that the world
Contained no mustachios so charmingly curled!
But razors are ruthless, my honours they nip –
Adieu, my mustaches! Farewell to my tip!*

He goes on to bewail how ineffectual his spurs, padded chest and tight trousers are without his moustaches. An added misfortune is that, his moustache being naturally red, he has dyed it black; after shaving, the dye remains indelibly on his skin, making it look like a chimney-sweep's lip. Since the narrator's principal reason for joining the Army was the uniform ('The line on my lip, and the dot on my chin, Became me...') he resolves 'So into half-pay I'll despondingly creep...'

³¹ Alexander Somerville, *The Autobiography of a Working Man* (first published 1848; London, 1951) p. 117.

³² Edwards, *Military Traditions*, p. 207.

³³ *The Soldier's Lament*, Bodleian Library Harding B11(1722). I owe this reference to Jennine Hurl-Eamon; see her *Marriage & the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2014) Chapter 3: 'Military Masculinities.'



Officer of the 13th Light Dragoons c.1830 (detail).
He wears side whiskers, but no moustache, agreeable to the order of 1830.
(Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library)



Mess room of the 7th Hussars, Dublin 1832 (detail).

These officers wear the moustaches permitted to them as hussars, but also beards following the line of the chin, a fashion presumably permitted by their commanding officer.

(Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library)



The 16th Lancers, 1845. The commanding officer, as well as his officers and Other Ranks, sport the epitome of the cavalry moustache, carefully trimmed and pointed, together with long side-whiskers.

(Ackerman print drawn by H.I. Daubrawa and engraved by J. Harris)



John Penn, 17th Lancers. This engraving, taken from a photograph, shows the typical long hair, bushy moustache and untidy beard favoured by Crimean veterans.

(Illustrated London News 26 November 1856)

The order for the cavalry other than the Household troops and hussars to shave the upper lip was apparently obeyed, no doubt under the meticulous eyes of inspecting generals. The paintings of Dubois Drahonet, executed in England in 1831-34, show the cavalry conforming to the regulations.³⁴ The only regiments shown wearing moustaches are the 2nd Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and the 7th, 8th and 15th Hussars. All other cavalry regiments – dragoon guards, dragoons, light dragoons and lancers – are clean-shaven. The only non-regular appearances are those of Lieutenant Thomas Myddleton Biddulph of the 1st Life Guards, who is clean-shaven, and Lieutenant General the Marquess of Londonderry, Colonel of the 10th Hussars, who was presumably senior enough to please himself. It should be noted that Lieutenant Colonel George Lord Bingham, as a lancer, does not wear moustaches, but does sport heavy side-whiskers. It was quite otherwise in India, where the exchange of communications with the War Office could take anything up to eighteen months. Here commanding officers used considerable skill in waging an extended delaying campaign that sometimes led to their soldiers never having to shave off their beloved moustaches. In May 1832 the general inspecting the 16th Lancers at Cawnpore remarked that moustaches were still worn, two years after the shaving order. He was told that they had been permitted in the Meerut division, from which the 16th had lately transferred. These remarks were annotated ‘Orders will be given to discontinue them.’ However, in December 1833 moustaches were still in evidence, and ‘...it is understood that a reference on the subject has been made to the Horse Guards’ which would have led to a further year’s delay. A report that the General Order of 1830 had finally been put into effect in January 1835 is contradicted (or perhaps the men had regrown them as soon as the inspector was out of sight) by a remark of April 1840, when moustaches were being worn, ‘said to be’ at the authority of Sir Henry Fane. The saga continued until 1841, by which time, no doubt to the deep satisfaction of the lancers, moustaches had again been authorised for cavalry.³⁵ The advantages to the 16th Lancers were felt during the Afghan campaign of 1838-39, when the Muslim inhabitants were ‘very friendly with our men, as owing to us wearing the moustache they conceive us to be Musselmen. This invariably produces a good reception, very different to what our infantry and artillery troops received.’³⁶ Their countrymen in the East India Company’s European regiments were envious. The men of the Bengal Horse Artillery were delighted to be given the authority to wear moustaches in 1844:

In those days no moustache was worn by the men of the British Army saving the dragoons and lancers, and the 3rd Light Dragoons and 16th Lancers being

³⁴ J. Spencer-Smith, *Portraits for a King: The British Military Paintings of A-J Dubois-Drahonet* (London, 1990).

³⁵ The National Archives, Inspection Reports, 16th Lancers WO27/216, 217, 225, 235, 250, 299, 304.

³⁶ R.V. Taylor (ed.), ‘The First Afghan War, 1839-1840, Taken from the Diary of a 16th (The Queen’s) Light Dragoons (Lancers).’ *Cavalry Journal* XXX (1940), p. 360.

*the only dragoon regiments on this side of India at the time, their hirsute facial appendages and embellishments were the envy of the men and the distraction of the women of the service.*³⁷

Private Tookey of the 14th Light Dragoons was willing to put up with some discomfort to 'distract' the women. He wrote from Umballah in 1847:

*You wish to know how my moustaches go on, tho' not exactly a la Militaire they are of a fashion the most approved of by the ladies tho' they are very troublesome things after all.*³⁸

In 1839 moustaches were again permitted, the cavalry and Horse Artillery quickly taking advantage of this latest *volte face*.³⁹ This may have been influenced by civilian fashion – Prince Albert himself sported a moustache – although strong opinions on either side were still expressed in the popular press. An article in the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1844 derided young Frenchmen for wearing facial hair, remarking 'We are still respectable and razored.' Conversely, the popular author Charles Dickens could rejoice in his 'glorious' and 'charming' moustaches.⁴⁰ Ackermann's series of large prints of cavalry, issued mainly in the early 1840s, show that all regiments of cavalry, Household, Heavy and Light, were wearing moustaches again, whilst all infantry and corps were clean-shaven.⁴¹ Once more the cavalry was to be distinguished from mere infantry. There could be disadvantages however. De Ainslie was stopped by police during the Chartist rally in London in 1848. They were doubtful as to his army identity, since moustaches were uncommon at that time, and presumably he was suspected of being a foreign agitator.⁴² Colonel John Luard however, despite being a cavalryman with a long career in the 16th Lancers, argued that if moustaches were good enough for one branch of the army, they were good for all:

*[The moustache] is worn by our cavalry, but the infantry are shaved to a hair. What good reason is there for this? If it is considered warlike, are not our infantry warriors? If it is handsome, do not our infantry require it?*⁴³

³⁷ N.W. Bancroft, *From Recruit to Staff Sergeant* (Simla, 2nd edn 1900) p. 28.

³⁸ National Army Museum NAM 6405-61 Private George Tookey, 14th Light Dragoons, Letters from India 1846-8: Letter 10 August 1847.

³⁹ Thomson, *Reminiscences* Vol. 1, p. 67; De Ainslie, *Life* p. 108.

⁴⁰ Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, p. 405.

⁴¹ Most easily accessed in William Y. Carman, *The Ackermann Military Prints: Uniforms of the British and Indian Armies 1840-1855* (Atglen, PA, 2003).

⁴² De Ainslie, *Life* pp 145-6. Thomson cut off his moustache when he retired from the Army in 1847: *Reminiscences* Vol. 1, p. 118.

⁴³ John Luard, *A History of the Dress of the British Soldier from the earliest period to the present time* (London, 1852) p. 144.

Luard pointed out the practicalities of the moustache: it protected the lip from the Indian sun or the Canadian cold, obviated the need for shaving in difficult conditions, and lightened the knapsack by discarding shaving utensils. Luard's opinion may have influenced the health reformer Edwin Chadwick when he wrote in 1854 that 'There can be no doubt that the moustachio is a natural respirator, defending the lungs from the inhalation of dust and cold... and it is equally, in warm climates, a protection of those parts against excessive heat...' It also apparently prevented toothache, colds, bronchitis and mumps!⁴⁴

However, it would take a major war with a European power to convince at least some senior officers that control over the soldiers' facial hair was not a major factor in discipline and efficiency. Lord Raglan, commander in the Crimea, was not one of them. In reply to an enquiry from the Secretary of War in May 1854 regarding the relaxation of shaving during the war with Russia, Raglan raised the old objection about facial hair being foreign:

*I am somewhat old-fashioned in my ideas, and I cling to the desire that an Englishman should look like an Englishman, notwithstanding that the French are endeavouring to make themselves appear as Africans, Turks, and Infidels. I have always remarked in the lower orders in England, that their first notion of cleanliness is shaving, and I dare say this feeling prevails in a great degree in our ranks, though some of our officers may envy the hairy men amongst our allies...*⁴⁵

However, by July Raglan had given in, and the cherished distinction of the cavalry was extended to the whole army: '...the wearing of a moustache, which privilege has been until this time confined to the cavalry, is sanctioned also for the infantry.'⁴⁶ Nevertheless the more traditionally-minded general officers with the army did not give in without a fight. Sir George Brown, a martinet who insisted on the continued wearing of stocks, full Marching Order and wing epaulettes in his division, protested against hirsute laxity:

*Another cause of the dirty and ruffianly appearance of the troops has been from Whisker and Moustache Pish. Lord Raglan having been against the introduction of that foreign fancy, the measure having been introduced against his recommendation, was determined not to interfere in any measure whatever with their hair and beards. The consequence is that any officer and man is allowed to exercise his own fancy, and as there are no looking-glasses in the camp, no one has the least idea how villainously ill he looks.*⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Quoted in Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, pp. 411-2. No mention was made of the misfortune of women, not thus protected from such ailments.

⁴⁵ Quoted in A Massie, *The Crimean War: The Untold Story* (London, 2004), p. 13.

⁴⁶ Horse Guards Circular 21 July 1854.

⁴⁷ Massie, *Crimean War*, pp. 177-8.

A representative of the 'lower orders' cited by Raglan was, however, more approving:

*...one fine day while cholera was raging, an order appeared to the effect that every man was to grow and carefully cultivate a moustache. It was distinctly laid down that a clear space of one inch was to be clean shaven between the ends of the moustache and the neighbouring leg of mutton whiskers.*⁴⁸

Thus Raglan's army sought to prevent anarchy by regulating the abolition of shaving. As the force shifted its operations from Bulgaria to the Crimea, and conditions deteriorated, any attempt to control facial hair was abandoned, as can be seen from surviving photographs of all arms. By August 1854 many cavalrymen were wearing not only 'walrus' moustaches but heavy side-whiskers and even full beards.⁴⁹ Infantry, artillery and even General officers and their staffs followed suit.⁵⁰ One cavalry officer not pleased by the relaxation of regulations was Captain Richard Thompson of the 5th Dragoon Guards. According to his fellow officer, Richard Temple Godman, Thompson had transferred from the infantry 'on purpose to wear a moustache.'⁵¹ Godman felt that the infantry had not yet grown used to their hairy appearance although 'it will certainly make them look more soldierlike.' Godman's own moustache was rather slow to grow, but it is interesting to note that in later life he continued to wear a very full moustache.⁵²

This facial free-for-all was obviously something that Crimean veterans valued, probably for the fact that it immediately distinguished them from other soldiers as 'Crimean heroes' when they returned to the United Kingdom. An order of 29 July 1856 stated that 'The existing distinction of the troops who have served in the Crimea of wearing beards' was 'not to be interfered with.'⁵³ The photographs taken at the time of the Queen's visit to Woolwich show artillerymen wearing a wide range of whiskers – full beards as well as moustaches. A Royal precedent could be appealed to as the Duke of Cambridge, who had commanded a division in the Crimea, wore moustaches, a full beard, and voluminous side-whiskers. Ackermann's *New Series* of prints, issued 1855-58, shows all arms of service, cavalry, infantry and corps, wearing moustaches.⁵⁴ It would seem that the 'distinction' of a Crimean medal was not enough. Not surprisingly, the Army soon

⁴⁸ Sergeant Andrew Munro, quoted in Roger Chapman (ed.), *Echoes from the Crimea: Eyewitness accounts by Members of Her Majesty's 19th Regiment of Foot (The Green Howards) during the Crimean War 1854-56* (Richmond, 2004) p. 58.

⁴⁹ See for example drawings and photographs in John and Boris Mollo, *Into the Valley of Death: The British Cavalry Division at Balaclava 1854* (London, 1991).

⁵⁰ Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Roger Fenton, Photographer of the Crimean War* (London, 1954).

⁵¹ Philip Warner (ed.), *The Fields of War. A Young Cavalryman's Crimean Campaign* (London, 1977), p. 53. Thompson had transferred from the 49th Foot: H G Hart, *New Army List* (London, 1846) p. 200.

⁵² Warner, *Fields of War*, p. 165 and plates 16-18.

⁵³ P.E. Abbott, 'Queen Victoria's Review of Crimean Veterans of the Royal Artillery at Woolwich on 13 March 1856,' *JSAHR* 83 (2005), pp. 191-204.

⁵⁴ Carman, *Ackermann Military Prints*, pp. 42-3 & 123-37.

began to re-assert control of its soldiers' facial hair. Only a year after the above order, another was reported in the press;

*A garrison order has been promulgated at Woolwich, commanding the officers and men indiscriminately [sic] to permit the growth of the moustache on the upper lip, extending within two inches of the whisker on either side of the face, but no portion of the beard to be retained either on or under the chin.*⁵⁵

A similar crackdown at Aldershot in 1860 caused 'considerable consternation.' The commandant, Lieutenant General Pennefather, sent a memo stating

*The Lieutenant-General wishes that the general officers commanding brigades at their half-yearly inspection will direct their particular attention to the length of the whiskers of the officers and men. The Lieutenant-General has observed that some officers of the division have whiskers of most unusual size and length.*⁵⁶

The urge to uniformity seemed once more to have triumphed. The 'cavalry moustache' as a unique distinction no longer existed after the Crimean War. Examination of photographs of the post-war period show that both cavalry and infantry officers nearly always wore moustaches.⁵⁷ Uniformity could still exist within a regiment. The officers of the 12th Lancers in 1860, for example, all wore the same style of heavy drooping moustache.⁵⁸ The Corporal Majors of the 1st Life Guards in 1861 all had similar heavy moustaches meeting side whiskers, resembling the style favoured by the Duke of Cambridge.⁵⁹ One suspects that the wide variety of styles shown by infantry and artillery officers and soldiers in this period was similarly subject to the whim of the commanding officer. Civilian fashions and attitudes must also have played a part. By 1858 the wearing of facial hair was well established in society, although men were advised that 'The moustache should be neat and not too long, and such fopperies as cutting the points thereof or twisting them up to the fineness of needles – though patronized by the Emperor of the French – are decidedly a proof of vanity.'⁶⁰ (Note here again the appeal against any taint of foreignness in hair fashion.) But the full moustache was still considered suitably 'warlike' for the cavalry for the rest of the

⁵⁵ *Essex County Standard* 13 March 1857, quoted by G.O. Rickward, 'Beards in Disfavour.' *JSAHR* XLV (1967) p. 251.

⁵⁶ *Illustrated London News* 20 October 1860. One wonders who sent the newspaper a copy of this order: a disgruntled officer perhaps?

⁵⁷ For example, the numerous examples in Boris Mollo, *The British Army From Old Photographs* (London, 1975) and John Fabb, *The Victorian and Edwardian Army from Old Photograph* (London, 1975).

⁵⁸ R.M. Collins, '12th Lancers at Leeds, 1860.' *JSAHR* XLIII (1965), pp. 134-8.

⁵⁹ Fabb, *Victorian and Edwardian Army*, plates 48, 59.

⁶⁰ *The Habits of Good Society: A Handbook of Etiquette for Ladies and Gentlemen* (London, 1850), quoted in Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, p. 413.

century. In 1883 the captain of a Midlands Yeomanry regiment, a former Regular cavalryman, was said to be concerned at the 'youthful and unsoldierlike appearance of his troop, not one of whom could show a decent moustache...' With the annual inspection by a Crimean veteran General approaching at the end of the annual camp, he sent the whole troop off on the day of the inspection to 'a certain barber's shop in the town, from whence each smooth-faced young farmer came out adorned with a pair of magnificent moustachios that would have done credit to a life guardsman or a Spanish don.' The general was duly impressed by the troop's 'soldierly bearing.'⁶¹

A photograph of a group of cavalry officers taken at Hythe in 1905 suggests that fashion had opened a distinction between 'lights' and 'heavies.' The 9th Lancers and 10th Hussars wear moustaches, but the Scots Grey is clean-shaven.⁶² By 1910 the King's Regulations stated that the moustache must be worn by all. This brought about the absurd decision to dismiss a promising young cadet from the Staff College, for persisting in shaving his upper lip. His ingenious (and possibly genuine) defence was that he did not actually shave (due to his youth), 'but only made use of the scissors to cut off such few hairs as would grow' since they were unsightly. This cut no ice with the commandant, Major General Sir William Robertson (a former cavalryman), who, however, remarked in his memoirs:

*No one would be so idiotic as to think that an officer is any better for wearing a moustache than he is for shaving or clipping it off, and the regulation has since been abolished, but staff officers are expected to set an example of obeying the King's Regulations...*⁶³

This remark sums up the main reason for the Army's continual interest in the soldier's facial adornment: it was seen as an important part of his appearance, and as such must be subject to regulation (however contradictory) in the same way as a button or the length of a jacket. Thus regulated, obedience must follow. The regulation itself, however, was influenced by many factors, such as contemporary civilian fashion or ideas of masculinity, but especially by senior officers' (or occasionally royal) notions of what constituted an 'English,' warlike or soldierlike appearance at any given time during the long nineteenth century. The attempts by cavalrymen to preserve the exclusive nature of the 'cavalry moustache' was a recognition that it could be seen as a visual symbol of the elite status of the mounted soldier.

⁶¹ "'Veteran" Troops.' *Portsmouth Evening News* 17 September 1883.

⁶² Mollo, *British Army From Old Photographs*, plate 44.

⁶³ William Robertson, *From Private to Field Marshal* (London, 1921) pp. 174-5.



Private 2894 Arthur Alfred Nelson Sims by C.M. Hodges.

Courtesy of the Author

PORTRAIT OF A VETERAN OF THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE INDIAN MUTINY

DAVID HOWELL

The Portrait

The framed oil portrait in this article is of an elderly veteran who had supposedly served in the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. Dressed in civilian clothes the sitter is shown wearing the Crimea Medal with single clasp for Sevastopol, the Turkish Crimea Medal and the Indian Mutiny Medal. The sitter's identity was unknown but was eventually established using a variety of sources. Some limited information was available in the form of a plain paper handwritten label glued onto the rear of the frame on which was written '10 guineas,¹ Indian Mutiny Veteran,' beneath that the name 'Somerset Regiment' and finally 'Hodges ARCA and RWS.'²

The portrait is undated and is ascribed to Charles Martin Hodges, the initials 'CMH' appearing in red at the bottom right corner of the portrait. It is believed to have been painted in about 1900. Minor abrasions and pinholes appear on the canvas, which measures 82 by 64 centimetres, but the portrait is intact within a black wooden frame and thin gilt mount. The painting had been sold by auction at a country house sale in Cumbria to art dealers in Wiltshire. The rear of the canvas also had a piece of fragile brown paper that had separated into three fragments; the first, adhering to the canvas, appeared to be from a dispensing chemist, with the handwritten inscription 'Arthur Nelson' followed by a capital letter, an elongated 'S' and a lower case 'i,' possibly the beginning of a surname. There are approximately thirty common English surnames that begin with 'Si.'³ The second torn portion had a handwritten inscription, 'Mutiny Veteran' and two abbreviated dates 'Oct. 1830' and 'Dec. 1916.' The third piece, which had dropped between the canvas and the frame, was fervently hoped to be the rest of the sitter's surname but after careful extraction turned out to be blank!

13th Regiment of Foot and Early Research

As the firmest clue to the sitter's identity was that he had belonged to the Somerset Regiment, a brief examination of its history was undertaken. It was first established in 1685 by Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon as one of 12 new regiments created by King James II to bolster his accession to the throne. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688 it took the title the Earl of Hastings Regiment.⁴ In

¹ Guinea, originally a coin (equivalent to £1.05 p) superseded by the pound in 1816. The term continued to be used in pricing however well into the 20th century.

² Associate of the Royal College of Art and Member of the Royal Watercolour Society.

³ C.W. Bardsley, *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*. (London: Henry Frowde, 1901). See also http://www.oodwooc.co.uk/church_names/allnames_S.htm#I – Consulted 15 March 2017.

⁴ J. Fortesque, *A History of the British Army* (London: Macmillan & Co.1906) Vol. 1. Colonel Ferdinand Hastings commanded the regiment 1688-1695 until he was dismissed for extortion. Described as 'one of the most unscrupulous scoundrels, even in those days of universal robbery, that ever robbed a Regiment.'

1751 it became the 13th Regiment of Foot and received its county title in 1782. Prince Albert, impressed by the regiment's defence of Jellalabad in 1842, permitted his name to be incorporated into its title and it thus became the 13th (1st Somersetshire) (Prince Albert's Own Light Infantry) Regiment of Foot.

The regiment's Depot was at Gosport in 1850, moving to Jersey in 1852. A year later it was transferred to Fermoy and then Clonmel in Ireland. The main body of the regiment, comprising the headquarters and six companies, was in Gibraltar and favourably inspected by Lieutenant General Sir Robert Gardiner during October 1853. The regimental establishment was augmented in 1854 to 1,200 rank and file, 67 Sergeants and 25 Drummers in expectation of receiving orders to join the expedition to 'the Black Sea.'⁵ The Depot companies joined the regiment at Gibraltar on 15 February 1855, but not until 24 May was the 13th ordered to the Crimea. It was commanded by its new colonel, Lord Mark Kerr, who had joined the regiment in January 1855.⁶ Kerr's relationships with his senior commanders and Army departments were often tempestuous and while in India they were to have an adverse effect on the regiment's history: it was commonly believed that the Regiment 'lost its chance of taking part in the final Relief of Lucknow as a consequence.'⁷

The Crimea

The regiment left Gibraltar on 7th June and arrived at Balaklava on 30th. One historian⁸ considered this as too late for it to take an effective part in the war, and the most recent history devotes just seven lines to the 13th's role in the conflict.⁹ However, the regiment was further augmented to 16 companies, 109 Sergeants, 2,000 Rank and File and 41 Drummers and for two months it was based at Kadikoi near Balaclava, where it suffered badly from sickness – cholera causing 42 deaths. In August 1855 the regiment was transferred into the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division commanded by Lord Rokeby.¹⁰ The 1st Division was formed of The Guards, the 9th, 13th and 31st Regiments and the 2nd Battalion, The Rifle Brigade. The 13th doubtless had its share of the appalling conditions existing during the siege of Sevastopol and witnessed the Battle of Tchernaya on 16 August when it was 'present but not engaged.'¹¹ On the following day and on 7 September the fifth and sixth heavy bombardments of Sebastopol's defences took place preparatory to the final assault by the Allies on the Malakoff Redoubt and Great Redan on the 8th. The regiment was held in reserve. The Russian forces evacuated Sevastapol on 9 September and a Victory Thanksgiving was celebrated

⁵ H. Everitt, *The Somerset Light Infantry 1685-1914* (London: Methuen & Co., 1934), p. 226.

⁶ C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London: Swann Sonnenschein, 1906). Kerr 1817-1900. Maj-Gen. 1868; Gen. 1878.

⁷ Everitt, *The Somerset Light Infantry*, p. 235.

⁸ H. Popham, *Famous Regiments, The Somerset Light Infantry*. (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968).

⁹ L. Grant, *The Somerset Light Infantry 1685-1959* (Devon: Somerset Books, 2004).

¹⁰ Gen Henry Robinson-Montague, 6th Baron Rokeby, GCB (2 February 1798 – 25 May 1883).

¹¹ Everitt, *The Somerset Light Infantry*, p. 236-7. Kerr had irritated the C-in-C Sir Colin Campbell to the extent that the 13th was 'sidelined' for the remainder of the campaign.

on 4 October.

All surviving members of the regiment qualified for the Crimea Medal and the Sevastopol clasp and the regiment received the battle honour for Sevastopol. The Armistice followed on 29 February 1856 and twelve months after its arrival the 13th returned to Gibraltar on 24 May 1856. From there it was sent to Port Elizabeth, South Africa on 19 September 1856, ostensibly in readiness for an 'imminent war against the Kaffirs.'¹² However, there was no war and the 1st Somerset remained in South Africa carrying out drills, battalion training and road-making.

Azimgurh India

The Indian Mutiny erupted in May 1857 but the participation of the 13th Regiment in the campaign proved to be a very different experience to that which it had had in the Crimea. Seven hundred and thirty-seven men of the regiment travelled to India in two contingents. On 1 October 1857 the Headquarters Company arrived at Calcutta and was joined by a wing of 23 Officers and 400 men, which disembarked on 3 October.

Six months earlier the 17th Bengal Native Infantry had been stationed at Azimgurh,¹³ under the command of a Major Burroughs. News of the mutiny at Meerut arrived on 14 May and by 20 May the men of the 17th were described as 'sullen.' Despite evidence that his men were 'plotting to mutiny,' Burroughs, 'with an infatuation, scarcely credible' stated that he had perfect confidence in them and issued further ammunition to each man.¹⁴ Charles Horne, a Magistrate and District Collector, furious with such complacency applied, on 30 May, to have Burroughs superceded.¹⁵ The sepoys mutinied, as expected, on 4 June 1857 and deserted without bloodshed. They marched to Fyzabad where, however, they murdered 'some officers of the 28th Regiment.'

At the beginning of April 1858 the 13th was at Allahabad when it was ordered to form a column to reinforce and supply 486 hard-pressed men of the 37th (North Hampshire) Regiment and 106 Troopers of 4th Madras Cavalry who had managed to retain a precarious position outside Azimgurh. The city and the surrounding countryside was under the control of rebel forces. The small column, comprising 19 officers and 372 men of the 13th Regiment, two officers and 55 men of 2nd Dragoon Guards, (The Bays) and one officer and 17 men of the Royal Artillery with two 6 Pounders and two 5.5 inch Mortars, marched towards Benares.¹⁶ Having collected additional transport and supplies, the column left

¹² T. Carter, *Historical Record of the 13th, First Somersetshire or Prince Albert's Regiment of Light Infantry* (London: W.O. Mitchell, 1867) p. 139. See also Everett, *The Somerset Light Infantry*, p. 233.

¹³ E. Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the Territories of the Government of the East India Company* (London: W. Allen & Co., 1854). Founded in 1620 by Azim Khan. Azimgurh, (Azim's Fort) a thriving textile town. Now Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh.

¹⁴ British Library, Africa and Asia Manuscript Collection. Charles Horne Papers. Mss Eur. D 533. Burroughs was not replaced.

¹⁵ Ibid.

that city in the early hours of 6 April arriving at Sursana at about 0900 hours. After a brief stop, the force marched ten miles towards Azimgurh. As the city was approached, the 13th encountered serious resistance, at times being almost surrounded, but fought on against enemy odds estimated at 10,000 mutinous Sepoys.¹⁷ The enemy lost 250 killed and 60 wounded. The British casualties were Captain W. Jones and seven Privates of 13th killed, Lieutenant E. Hall dangerously wounded, one sergeant and 32 Privates dangerously wounded and 28 Privates severely wounded.¹⁸ That the column achieved its objective with relatively few casualties was remarkable.¹⁹ Two men, Sergeant William Napier and Private Patrick Carlin both of 13th Regiment were awarded the Victoria Cross for their actions at Azimgurh.²⁰

After the Mutiny the 1st Battalion, as it had become, remained in garrison posts and at Delhi until 1864 when it returned to Ireland. It received no battle honours for its service during the Mutiny. A move to quarters in Shorncliff, Kent took place in 1867 and it was despatched to Malta in 1872. The regiment's second battalion was raised at Winchester in 1858 and spent the next eight years in South Africa and Mauritius before returning to the UK in 1867.²¹

Tracing the Sitter

In the mid-Victorian period the Army's 'appetite for manpower was increasingly insatiable'²² and it experienced considerable difficulties with recruitment. The famine in Ireland during the 1840s had reduced the numbers of Irishmen volunteering for enlistment. The Recruiting Sergeants however knew their quarry: 'men between 17 and 25 years were the most tractable' and the Army had no difficulty in permitting 'a little creativity where birth dates were concerned.'²³ The

¹⁶ Everitt, *The Somerset Light Infantry*, p. 237. See also G. Malleon, *History of the Indian Mutiny* 2 vols. (London: Longman & Co. 1893) Vol. II, p. 459-461 who confirms that 5.5 Inch Mortars were in the column. See also E. Buckle, *Memoir of the Services of the Bengal Artillery* (London: W. Allen & Co., 1852), p. 180. The use of mortars from an adapted field or siege carriage had been favourably reported on but abandoned. The other three regimental histories covering the mutiny do not provide details of the artillery in the column at Azimgurh.

¹⁷ Everitt, *The Somerset Light Infantry*, p. 238. At one point all the native drivers deserted, only returning once satisfied the Column was winning through.

¹⁸ BL, Africa & Asia Collection L/Mil/5/42-141/4/73-105 – The Indian Mutiny Medal Roll 13th Foot. Everitt, *The Somerset Light Infantry*, p. 239; Carter, *Historical Record of the 13th*, p. 147. In a personal communication Dr Stephen Harris, M.A Cantab. M.B. B.Chir. F.R.C. Path., formerly Consultant Pathologist at Royal Stoke University Hospital, confirmed that both terms had become obsolete during C20th but provided the following definitions:

Dangerously wounded: an injury with life threatening consequences.

Severely wounded: a degree of painful intensity with the probability of recovery.

These terms have been replaced by a 6-point Injury Severity Scale.

¹⁹ Everett, *The Somerset Light Infantry*, p. 239

²⁰ D. Harvey, *Monuments to Courage* 2 vols. (Privately published for the Author, 1999).

²¹ Everett, *The Somerset Light Infantry*. While in Mauritius the battalion was badly affected by fever. At least 200 men were hospitalised at any one time. 15 men, 1 woman and 14 children died.

²² R. Holmes, *Redcoat – The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), p. 135.

Public House was an ideal recruiting source and young men from the working class could 'be easily trepanned.'²⁴

An unskilled, employed man could not expect a weekly wage of more than a few shillings for a 10 hour day, 6 days per week, depending on location.²⁵ A soldier could receive gross weekly pay of 7 shillings a week. For a young man on low wages this could well have sounded promising, except that 'half was deducted from pay for food and 1 shilling 10 pence for general maintenance and laundry.'²⁶ This reduction was unlikely to have been disclosed to the recruit at the time.

In order to trace the sitter in the portrait from the partial name found on the reverse of the painting, the 13th's Indian Mutiny Medal Roll was consulted and 52 surnames beginning with 'S' appeared on the Roll. Four were discounted having been 'Killed in Action' or 'Died of Wounds.' However, one possibility presented itself: Private 2894 Alfred Simms, who had been 'severely wounded' at Azimgurh, Bengal on 6 April 1858.

Simms' attestation form²⁷ shows that he enlisted on Monday 19 April 1852 and was given regimental number 2894. His service date was given as 19 April 1852 – 18 June 1852 indicating that for the first two months he was enlisted for what would later be called Boy Service. The words, 'Under age 17 years 10 months' are written underneath. The age gave him a birth year of 1834/5. His occupation was recorded as a Labourer and his birthplace as Twerton, Bath.²⁸ He had 'a fresh complexion, hazel eyes and was 5 feet 1 inch tall.'

Though it is only speculation, it is likely that Simms was unemployed and volunteered or succumbed to the blandishments of a recruiting sergeant.²⁹ Having accepted the Queen's Shilling³⁰ he would have been medically examined³¹ and been attested before a magistrate as the final act of joining up,³² though an enlisted

²³ R. Holmes, *Soldiers – Army Lives and Loyalties from Redcoats to Dusty Warriors* (London: Harper Press, 2011), p. 273.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 288. S. Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*. Vol. II (London: R. Scholey, 1808). Trepanned in this context means 'snared or tricked.'

²⁵ J. Hammond, *The Town Labourer* (London: Longmans & Green, 1917). G. Clark, *Average Earnings and Retail Prices in the UK 1209-2010* (University of California, 2011). Estimates vary for the wages of the unskilled from 5 shillings to 15 shillings a week.

²⁶ C. Barnett, *Britain and her Army 1509-1970* (London: Allen Lane, 1970), pp. 280-282.

²⁷ The National Archives (UK), Discharge Papers, Royal Hospital, Chelsea, WO 97/2102/23. (Hereafter cited as TNA).

²⁸ A. Swift & K. Elliot, *The Lost Pubs of Bath* (Bath: Akeman Press, 2005), pp. 127-28 indicates that Twerton is an ancient suburb of Bath dating from the Roman period. The main industries in 1840 were textiles and mining.

²⁹ Holmes, *Soldiers* p. 289 says that recruits were only verbally appraised of 'the general conditions of service in the army, often very unreliably.' A.R. Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home*. (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 242 records that recruiting was not a centralised function. Irregularity was common and there was a lack of uniformity in recruiting methods.

³⁰ Holmes, *Redcoat*, p.138. Given to a potential recruit 'as a mark of commitment.' The recruiting Sergeant also received a 'bounty.' Barnett, *Britain and her Army 1509-1970*. The 'contract' of the King's Shilling was in practice by 1700.

³¹ Holmes, *Redcoat*, p. 139 says that at least 33% failed. Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, p. 308 says that by 1860 the failure rate was 47%.

man could still request his discharge on certain grounds.³³ He was of an age and from a social class³⁴ that was attracted by the idea of the soldier's redcoat with the possibility of service abroad, regular pay, occasional loot,³⁵ excitement or even glory. All of these would have seemed better than the drudgery experienced by poor, working class families, living in one room accommodation. Finally, he may have enlisted under a slightly different name arising from domestic difficulties and may have wished to avoid further family contact. His service 'under age' from 19 April to 18 June 1852 did not count towards the reckoning for service or pension. After his enlistment Simms would have been sent for initial training to the regimental Depot at Gosport.

Simms' Declaration of Service provides the following 'Dates of Service':³⁶

19 Jun 1852 - 1 Jun 1862	9 years 348 days.
2 Jun 1862 - 7 May 1868	5 years 341 days.
14 May 1868 - 8 April 1869	
23 April 1869 - 3 Feb 1870	237 days
11 Feb 1870 - 18 Mar 1873	3 years 36 days
20 Mar 1873 - 21 July 1873	
22 July 1873 - 4 Sept 1873	
5 Sept 1873 - 16 Sept 1873	
Total Service	21 years 77 days.

The general statement of his Character and Conduct reads: 'He has been fourteen times in the regimental defaulters book two of which are [*illegible*] by Courts Martial. Conduct has been indifferent and he is not in possession of any good conduct badges'.

³² Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, p. 243. It was not until, 'The Memorandum by the Inspector General of Recruiting 1870,' provided regulations that a man must not be taken before a magistrate for attestation before 'a minimum of 24 hours or a maximum of 96 hours' had passed in order for the recruit to re-consider his enlistment. See WO32/6692, Papers on Illegal Recruitment.

³³ Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, pp. 203, 228 & 243. A free discharge might be granted if it proved to be 'improper enlistment.' Examples were 'enlistment under age' or that the recruit 'had been misled.' Holmes, *Soldiers*, p. 288, cites an example where a discharge was bought by payment, 'the smart money,' of a Guinea and a Crown (£1.30p).

³⁴ Ibid. p. 305-6. Areas with low manufacturing industry tended to produce a higher proportion of labourers for recruitment. A. Shaw. *Officers and Gentlemen: Mystique and Military Effectiveness in the Nineteenth Century British Army*. Military History online.com 2011. 'British soldiers were, with few exceptions, recruited from the very lowest strata of society. The desperate and unemployed were also well represented in the ranks.'

³⁵ H. Yule, & A.C. Burnell, *Hobson Jobson A Glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian Words* (London: John Murray, 1903) – from the Hindi 'lut' meaning plunder.

³⁶ TNA Pensioner Records, Royal Hospital, Chelsea, WO 97/83/258.

In addition his Promotions and Reductions were recorded as:

Forfeited Pay	31 Oct 1867
Confinement 'Drunk'	8-13 May 1868
Forfeited Pay	8 July 1868
Forfeited Pay	20 July 1868
Confinement 'Drunk'	6-9 April 1869
Imp. Drnkss ³⁷	9-23 April 1869
Impt. by CO. 'Disrespect'	4-10 Feb 1870
Deprived of Pay 'Absence'	19 Mar 1873

There appear to be four offences for which he was sentenced to 'Confinement' or 'Imprisonment.' totalling 27 days.

After recovering sufficiently from the wound he received at Azimgurh, Simms was invalided home to the United Kingdom on 15 October 1858. He was recorded 'at Depot on 23.5.59' and at Fermoy in 1861.³⁸ The 2nd Battalion was at Fermoy briefly in 1859 and it appears that Simms joined the 2nd Battalion Depot Company, rather than the 1st Battalion's Depot Company, on recuperative duties.³⁹ His stations and service from 1861-1871 are not recorded. Simms was at Gibraltar in 1871 where the following initialled annotation was written in the margin of his record: 'Addicted to drink since 1860 but a clean and respectful soldier to his officers and has proved himself a gallant soldier in the field'.⁴⁰

He was with the 1st Battalion at Malta on 21 July 1873 when his discharge papers were reviewed by a Regimental Board made up of a Brevet Major and Captains Carey and Minto.⁴¹ This confirmed his service totalling 21 years 77 days. Where the entry for his service under age appears, the number of months and days has been left blank. The Board recommended his discharge on pension, which was confirmed by Lieutenant Colonel Montgomery.⁴² His final discharge was from Netley⁴³ and effective from 16 September 1873. He had been awarded the Crimea Medal with clasp 'Sevastapol, the Turkish Crimea Medal⁴⁴ and the Indian Mutiny Medal.⁴⁵ The Board confirmed that Simms had suffered a bullet wound received in action. His age is given as 39 years, and thus a birth year of 1834.

³⁷ This entry is very indistinct but appears to record imprisonment for drunkenness.

³⁸ TNA, Muster Books and Pay Lists, WO12/3081.

³⁹ Barnett, *Britain and Her Army*, pp. 306-7. Since 1825 all battalions had been divided to provide for companies abroad (service companies) and at least one at home (depot companies). Injured men were sent to the Depot Company after treatment and before returning to full regimental duties.

⁴⁰ TNA, Muster Books and Pay Lists, WO12/3091/1871. The annotation was made between 1/04/1871 and 30/06/1871 at Gibraltar.

⁴¹ TNA, Out-pensioners, Chelsea Registers, WO23/57/11-25 Foot 1865-75.

⁴² Lt-Col. R B. Montgomery appointed C.O. 13th Regiment July 1873.

⁴³ The Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley nr. Southampton. It was known as 'Netley.'

⁴⁴ Issued by Sultan Abdülmecid I of the Ottoman Empire to allied forces 1854-56. The medal's design varied between British, French and Sardinian forces

⁴⁵ General Orders 363/1858 and 739/1859. The medal was issued by the Indian Government to all Queen's regiments and was the last medal issued to East India Company troops before transfer to the Crown in 1858.

Although he had completed the qualifying period of service he was not awarded a Long Service and Good Conduct Medal,⁴⁶ which is hardly surprising considering his disciplinary record and ‘indifferent’ conduct. The unknown officer’s marginalia describing him as ‘a gallant soldier’ may have ameliorated his record to some extent, but obviously made no impression on the authorities at the time. On leaving the Army he gave his destination as Bath.

The Later Searches

The fact that Simms appears to have given a false age at enlistment complicated the search for his real date of birth. However as he stated his birthplace as Twerton, the census record for 1881⁴⁷ was checked to ascertain if he had returned home. This proved a useful source as an Alfred Simms, born at Twerton, Bath, Somerset was easily found. His entry indicates that he was 48 years old in 1881 giving a birth year of 1833, was a single man and an ‘Army Pensioner 13th L.I.’ He was living with a Louisa Dark, 38 years old, a married woman working as a laundress at 5 Westhall Place, Walcot, Bath. Dark had been married in 1879 and was living with Simms under her maiden name. A check for the name Alfred Simms in the 1841 census proved unsuccessful, but it did reveal that an Arthur Simms had been born in 1831 at Twerton and resided at 6 Cooks Buildings, Bath with his parents, George, and Elizabeth both born in 1791. There were altogether seven siblings including two sets of twins, whose ages were between 10 and 25 years and an elderly female aged 80 years. Simms’ father worked as a clothier or weaver.⁴⁸ The census of 1851 showed that both Arthur, aged 20 years, and his Father, George were employed as porters. The family was living at 10 Ainslie Buildings, Bath. Only two female siblings remained at home. The family surname was recorded as Sims.

On checking the censuses of 1861 and 1871 Arthur Sims was not present with his family. It would appear therefore that not only did Sims lie about his age but he also enlisted under a false Christian name. The reasons for this are unclear.

Retirement

The census returns of 1891, 1901 and 1911 shed further light on the confusing civilian profile of the subject in Hodges’ painting. In these decades Simms changed his forenames three times and the spelling of his surname once. It became obvious that Alfred Simms, an Army pensioner from the 13th Regiment of Foot was, in fact, Arthur Sims, born at Twerton, Bath in 1831. The marriage records also revealed that Arthur Alfred Sims married Louisa Dark in 1882.⁴⁹ The 1891 census shows Arthur Sims aged 60 years, and living with his wife Louisa at 6 St.

⁴⁶ The Army Long Service and Good Conduct Medal was instituted in 1830 by William IV with qualifying periods of 21 years for infantry and 24 for cavalry. The qualifying period was reduced in 1870 to 18 years for all soldiers.

⁴⁷ TNA, Census 1881, RG 11/2440/101.

⁴⁸ TNA, Census 1841, HO107/961/14/17/26.

⁴⁹ National Registration of Marriages. Ref 1882 Bristol 6a/121.

Georges Place, Bath.⁵⁰ Ten years later Arthur A. Sims was recorded as a Grocer, and at the same address with his wife Louisa, described as his assistant. He gave his birthplace incorrectly as Bradford on Avon.⁵¹ The 1911 census records that Simms had added Nelson as his third forename but that all the other details matched those of previous entries. He was living with his wife at 1 Westgate Buildings, Walcot, Bath. He died in December 1916 and was buried at St. Peter and St. Paul's Abbey Cemetery, Bath, on 2 January 1917. His wife Louisa died in 1930 aged 87.⁵²

The original fragile piece of paper attached to the picture frame had recorded Sims' date of birth incorrectly as 1830 but with a correct date of death as 1916. Who wrote the label on the back of the painting is unknown but it must date from close to 1911 when Sims used the Nelson forename on the official census. The Sims' were childless and neither of them left a will.⁵³

The handwritten label fragments amplified and confirmed by the public records provide sufficient evidence to establish the identity of the sitter in the portrait. The note that Alfred Simms was 'addicted to drink since 1860' is not surprising. He had been engaged in two of the most strenuous military campaigns of the mid-Victorian era and had been wounded in India. It suggests that the addiction began after these periods, which may well have had a cumulative, traumatic effect inducing the dependency on alcohol.

Sims may have paid for the portrait while trading as a Grocer. Ten guineas in 1900 would have been an expensive outlay for a 70 year-old man who had enjoyed only his soldier's pension and a labourer's wages for the majority of his post-Army life. His pension would have been calculated on his rank, length of qualifying service, courts martial convictions, and periods spent abroad. The daily sum could have amounted to between eight pence and one shilling and six pence Sterling or 71/2 pence today.⁵⁴

The Artist

Charles Martin Hodges (1848-1916) was a talented amateur artist who was Headmaster of the Government School of Art in Bath. In 1895 he is recorded as the owner of a gallery at 16 Old Bond Street, London, a prestigious area for galleries and artists alike. Later he was appointed Artistic Curator at Bath Art Gallery. Three of his military paintings are known. *The Day Fades but the Glory Never – A Tale of Inkerman* is untraced after being sold at auction in Corsham in 2007. *A Tale of the Brave Old Days* is at Bristol Art Gallery and shows a Chelsea

⁵⁰ TNA, Census 1891, RG12/1937.

⁵¹ Bradford on Avon was where his father George, mother Elizabeth and 3 of his sisters were born.

⁵² National Registration of Deaths 1916. (ref 5c p.730)

⁵³ <https://www.gov.uk/search-will-probate> – consulted 12 Feb 2017.

⁵⁴ Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, pp. 205 – 211. The Commissioners of The Royal Hospital had powers of interpretation and discretion on 'qualifying' periods and forfeiture.

Pensioner regaling a sailor and two soldiers with his stories in a public house. *Home, Sweet Home* is in the collection of the National Army Museum and features a young corporal of the 11th Hussars at a table in a domestic setting.⁵⁵

Why Hodges painted the portrait of Arthur Alfred Nelson Sims remains a mystery. Perhaps Sims had acted as a model for the two paintings by Hodges involving grey-bearded, hoary, old soldiers with features not dissimilar to our subject. It would be attractive to think that the painting was a gift to him. Sims' portrait simply depicts an elderly, bearded veteran with careworn expression, wearing his Sunday best clothes and medals. Despite his 'indifferent' conduct, no one could deny him those.

⁵⁵ National Army Museum, exhibits ref. 1975-08-25-1.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON SIR HUBERT GOUGH

TREVOR HARVEY

General Sir Hubert Gough's career was effectively truncated when he was replaced as the commander of Fifth Army on 28 March 1918. He was scapegoated in the wake of the initial success of the German Spring Offensive. The indignity of Gough's removal contrasts with the pride of his claims to the distinction made in his memoir of having been the youngest officer at various points during his impressive career. Gough claimed that at seventeen and a half in January 1888 he was the youngest cadet, that he was only eighteen and half on 5 March 1889 when commissioned, that he was promoted Captain in 1895 at the age of 24 – 'still the youngest in the army' – and that he was successively the youngest Commanding Officer, the youngest Brigade Officer, the youngest General and the youngest Army Commander in the Great War (Gough, *Soldiering On* (London: Arthur Barker, 1954), p. 28).

In the late General Sir Anthony Farrar-Hockley's 1975 biography, *Goughie*, Farrar-Hockley recorded that Gough was aged seventeen when he joined the Royal Military College as a gentleman-cadet in 1888. Farrar-Hockley made no further reference to Gough's age as his career progressed. Neither did Professor Brian Bond in his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* about Gough published in 2004. In *Command and Control on the Western Front* published in 2004, edited by Gary Sheffield and Dan Todman, in his chapter on Gough Sheffield points to a reference to Gough's 'youthful impetuosity' in 1901 and 'his rapid promotion at a relatively early age'. In their chapter in *Haig's Generals*, edited by Ian Beckett and Steven Corvi, published in 2006, Sheffield and Helen McCartney wrote of Gough that he was 'noted for his relative youth'. Gough's specific claims about his age were obviously important to him. Historians have acknowledged the generality of Gough's relative youth and the rapidity of his promotion. It appears, however, that the detail of Gough's claims over his age has not hitherto been the subject of close scrutiny.

Hubert de la Poer Gough was born on 12 August 1870. Sandhurst's register records that Gough was one of 161 gentleman-cadets who formed the February 1888 intake. Fifteen were younger than eighteen years old. The youngest was not Gough; it was (later Brigadier-General) J.L.J. Clarke, born on 23 November 1870. Two other cadets were also younger than Gough – (later Lieutenant) H.L.S. MacLean, born on 13 September 1870, who was subsequently posthumously awarded a Victoria Cross for his gallantry on 17 August 1897; and (later Major) A.C.J. Campbell, born on 5 September 1870. Nor was Gough eighteen and a half when he was commissioned on 5 March 1889. He was actually older – 18 years 205 days old.

Gough stated that he was promoted Captain in 1895. Again, this is not true. Whilst the *London Gazette* announcement of his promotion appeared on 12 February 1895, his promotion took effect from 22 December 1894 when he was

24 years 132 days old. Whether Gough's claim that he was 'still the youngest [captain] in the army' is true depends upon interpretation. If in 1954 when he wrote his memoir Gough meant to claim that he had been the youngest captain in the Army at that time, this is not true. To give one example, Captain I.A.G. Fergusson, 13th Battalion Royal Scots, was aged 18 years 282 days when he was killed on 11 May 1916. If Gough meant that he was the youngest captain in the Army when he was promoted to this rank, that is true. The margin by which it is true, however, is small. One of Gough's contemporaries, Captain R.W.M. Trayner, was promoted to captain on 15 May 1895 when he was only ten days older than Gough had been. Apart from their relative youth, Gough and Trayner also had another factor in common – they had both been commissioned into cavalry regiments, 16th Lancers and 1st Dragoon Guards respectively.

As a major, Gough had been awarded the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1902 before being appointed to the Staff College on 1 January 1904 as a Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General. While holding that appointment, Gough was subsequently awarded the brevet rank of colonel on 11 June 1906 before being promoted substantive lieutenant-colonel on 18 July 1906. He left the Staff College on his appointment in that rank as the commanding officer of 16th Lancers on 19 December 1906 at the age of 36 years 130 days. Gough claimed he 'became the youngest Commanding Officer'. This claim is true. His nearest rival appears to have been yet another cavalry officer, Lieutenant-Colonel (later Brevet Colonel) H.G.H. Kennard, who was both promoted to this rank and to the command of his regiment, 5th Dragoon Guards, on 12 August 1907. Kennard was, however, only seven days older than Gough when he had taken command of 16th Lancers.

Confusingly, Gough claimed he subsequently became 'the youngest Brigade Officer'. He did indeed serve as Brigade-Major of 1 Cavalry Brigade, although this was between 24 September 1902 and 28 January 1904. He had been appointed to this post when he was 32 years 43 days old. It is not true, however, that Hubert Gough was the youngest brigade-major of his day. His younger brother, Johnnie, for example, had served as a brigade-major in South Africa, albeit briefly, from 8 February to 5 May 1900 when he was aged 28 years 106 days on appointment.

Hubert Gough made two further claims. First, that he was the Army's youngest general when he was appointed a temporary brigadier-general on 1 January 1911 in command of 3 Cavalry Brigade at the age of 40 years 142 days; second, that he was the youngest commander of an Army during the Great War when appointed GOC Reserve Army on 22 May 1916 at 45 years 284 days. Both are true. Gough's appointment as GOC Reserve Army is the most impressive of his claims that promotion at an early age had been a hallmark of his career. Of the ten officers appointed to command any of the five Armies that comprised the British Expeditionary Force on the Western Front during the Great War, the next youngest was Sir Henry Rawlinson who was aged 51 years 299 days when appointed GOC First Army on 15 December 1915 in succession to Sir Douglas Haig.

Does any of this matter? At one level it does not. Other historians' references to Gough's 'relative youth' accurately capture the essence of the truth despite their lack of mention of the detail. Gough's career progression was precocious, his appointment as an Army commander the most precocious element of all. Furthermore, one of the consequences of the Great War was that numerous of Gough's claims to fame on the grounds of his precociousness were overtaken by others. The War's youngest brigade-major was the future prime minister and 1st Earl of Avon, Robert Anthony Eden, aged 20 years 321 days on appointment; the youngest commanding officer, Arthur Leslie Walter Newth, aged 21 years 75 days on appointment; and the youngest general was Roland Boys Bradford who was 25 years 284 days when promoted temporary brigadier-general on 13 November 1917.

At another level it does matter. Of the eight claims that Gough made within a single paragraph concerning his relative youthfulness, at least half were factually untrue. It may be expedient to attribute these inaccuracies simply to the understandable fallibility of Gough's memory. Historians strive to establish facts with accuracy as a basis for the application of their analytical and interpretive skills. They should have no need to rely on expediency.

JOURNAL INTELLIGENCE: NOTES

1981 PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN OFFICER, C. 1854 – The photographs that accompany this Note appear to show an officer photographed in Calcutta in about 1854. The pictures were taken by James William Newland (?-1857) who was born in Redgrave in Suffolk, England. He was an itinerant daguerreotypist, who photographed in 1845 in New Orleans, travelled in 1846 to Lima, and in the following year to Callao, Valparaiso, Fiji and Auckland, New Zealand. For three months in 1848 he photographed in Sydney, Australia. In December 1848 he left for Calcutta, opening there the first daguerreian studio in No. 6 Loudon's Buildings. His assistant was F.W. Baker, and subsequently also Frederick Welling. Newland was killed in May 1857 at the beginning of the Sepoy Mutiny.

Please can any member of the Society identify the unit in which this officer served? The cap badge clearly bears the letters A.R.B. and is of a most unusual form and very large.

Any members or readers who are able to provide information about this picture should correspond with the Hon. Editor so that the information may be shared with other members – andrew.e.cormack@btconnect.com

STEFAN RICHTER

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1982 A.V.B. NORMAN RESEARCH TRUST – The Trust was established in 1998, in memory of a founder-member and past President of the Church Monuments Society, the late Nick Norman. It exists to offer assistance and encouragement to those pursuing research in the fields of arms and armour; monumental effigies; manuscripts and primary sources. Applications relating to work on Scottish material are especially welcome. Grants per annum will not normally exceed £700 (individual) or £1,500 (total for smaller grants). It is expected that research will be published or made public in some way. The closing date for applications is 30th November each year, and awards will be confirmed by 10th February the following year. For further details and application form, please contact:

Mrs. A Norman, 15, Lansdowne Crescent, Edinburgh EH12 5EH

E-mail: abn@dhorca.com

The following award was made in 2017/18:

A grant of £584 was made to Dr Christian Steer towards the publication of research on the monumental brass of Sir Humphrey Bouchier (died 1471) in an article ‘The Death of Achilles’ published in the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* volume of 2018.

MRS A. NORMAN

1983 BRITISH ARMY CIVILIAN BANDMASTERS IN AMERICA, 1770s – It appears that a man referred to as “Old Davey” served as the civilian bandmaster of the 18th Foot while it was in America in the 1770s. I wonder if any member of the Society, or reader of the Journal, can shed light on this man or provide information about other bandmasters who were civilians, and who accompanied this or other regiments when posted overseas and on campaign. It is clear, despite the above, that the majority, if not all, bandsmen were enlisted as soldiers. I am currently working on a text about the men of the 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment of Foot during its American service from 1767 to 1776 and any information about any of the men of that regiment during the period would be greatly appreciated. It can be sent to – smbaule@gmail.com

STEVE BAULE

1984 AMENDMENT TO NOTE 1980 A SURFEIT OF CORPORALS – Regrettably there was an error in the figures given in the Note that appeared in the Spring 2018 Journal. In the final paragraph the numbers quoted should be 760 Privates and 50 Corporals in line with the comment about ‘maintaining the extra corporal per company’.

ROD MACARTHUR

BOOK REVIEWS

THE EMBATTLED GENERAL: SIR RICHARD TURNER AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR, by William F. Stewart. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015. ISBN: 9780773546257, pp. 374, £36.00.

This reviewer must begin by declaring an interest as the external examiner for the University of Birmingham thesis, which preceded this book. That said, having had no contact with the author since the *viva*, the reviewing task was not undertaken to 'push' their interests, but because the original thesis was such a promising piece of work. It is therefore a great pleasure to see a further refined version in print.

Although his First World War service is well-known and controversial in Canadian military history, Richard Turner is probably unfamiliar to a British audience. An Anglophone from Francophone Quebec, he was successful in the family business, where he seems to have gained the administrative skills that would later serve him well. An officer in a militia cavalry regiment, his life changed dramatically when, as a thirty-year old major, he deployed to the Boer War. Awarded the Victoria Cross during that conflict, he returned to Canada and later commanded his regiment. Recalled from the Reserve in 1914, he took command of an infantry brigade. Although continuing to demonstrate personal bravery, his reputation was tarnished by his actions at Second Ypres, but this did not prevent his subsequent promotion to divisional command. Further difficulties followed at the St. Eloi Craters in the spring of 1916, but he was saved from being sacked through his political connections. In the autumn, however, after what was seen as another poor battlefield performance, Turner was sent to Britain to assume control of the Canadian military administration; a role that he was to fulfil through to the demobilisation period.

By examining Turner's military career in great detail and from exhaustive archival research, William Stewart has provided us with the first full biographical study. This is important on two levels and the structure of the book reflects this dichotomy. First, after detailing his pre-1914 career, he unpacks Turner the front-line commander in forensic detail, unpicking the often confused details of the 1915 and 1916 battles. Although he has a biographer's natural sympathy for his subject, Stewart undertakes this process in an even-handed manner, weighing the evidence carefully and offering nuanced judgements. For example, he does not shy away from noting inconsistencies in Turner's own testimony. Furthermore, he takes the time to explore aspects of the Canadian Corps' development that are pertinent to his analysis. Second, Stewart examines the process by which Turner brought order to a chaotic, confused, and highly politicised Canadian military administration in Britain. This half of the book will probably be of more interest to non-Canadian military historians than the account of Turner as a field commander. Here we see the central importance of good administration in winning a total war. Stewart unpacks the manifold structural problems that confronted Turner and offers useful comparisons with the Australian and New Zealand experiences. Although manpower management, training regimes, and promotion systems are a long way from the excitement of the Canadian Corps' exploits in 1917 and 1918, Stewart judges Turner to have been 'broadly effective' in his reforms. He therefore made an important, if indirect, contribution to the corps' famous victories. Central to this period was Turner's relationship with Arthur Currie, the corps commander in France. Stemming from bitterness regarding Turner's conduct at Second Ypres and aggravated by very different personalities, their relationship was fundamentally adversarial, although Stewart argues that it was conducted in a 'cool and correct' manner from Turner's end. He also finds 'no evidence' for the charges of 'jealousy and obstruction' towards Currie. In analysing the later emergence of these tales, Stewart notes the eventual rise of Currie's reputation with the need for 'compelling stories requir[ing] the protagonist to struggle against a foil'. Turner therefore became the villain to Currie, the all-Canadian hero.

The net result of these investigations is a fascinating and multi-layered study of both front-line command and the rearward sinews of war. Stewart is to be especially commended for getting inside the Canadian command system, explaining its complications, and reconstructing both battlefield command and rear area intrigues. Without previous exposure to the anti-Turner historiography, this reviewer approached the man with an open mind and found him to be an interesting and exceptional individual. As Stewart notes, he was not an especially imaginative commander, but he 'embodied the warrior ethos', in part because of the VC ribbon on his chest. Reflecting upon this, one wonders

whether his exploits in South Africa were both a blessing and a curse? It helped to put him at the front of the queue for command in 1914, but perhaps his gallantry as a junior officer also generated unreasonable expectations of Turner as a senior officer? This book is strongly recommended for those who wish to review the evidence and make up their own minds. In the process they will also learn many interesting things about Canada in the Great War.

JIM BEACH
University of Northampton

A BRITISH LION IN ZULULAND: SIR GARNET WOLSELEY IN SOUTH AFRICA, by William Wright. Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2017. ISBN: 9781445665481, pp. 420, £25.00.

William Wright, a journalist and the former chairman of the Victorian Military History Society, has written a colourful and interesting account of Sir Garnet Wolseley's time in South Africa during 1879. As such, the focus of this book is Wolseley's conduct in the final stages of the Zulu War, his settlement of Zululand after this conflict and his actions during the Second Anglo-Pedi War. The work is largely based on Wolseley's correspondence as well as the daily journal he kept while in South Africa and so, as explained in the work's preface, events are described from his perspective. Although Wright does not make a line of argument that runs throughout the work, he uses Wolseley's papers to shed light on some of the major historical controversies that surround the General's conduct.

The first section of the work, consisting of five chapters, focuses on Wolseley's actions following his arrival in South Africa in the final stages of the Zulu War, the 'King Hunt' during which Cetshwayo was captured by the British, and the settlement of Zululand. The first chapter runs through the well-known events of the early phases of the Zulu War, retelling the story of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. Given how familiar these events are, Wright places an emphasis on aspects, which are perhaps less well known, such as the contemporary debate in Britain surrounding Lord Chelmsford's competence and the government's initial reaction to the disaster at Isandlwana. His use of Wolseley's papers not only allows this account to contain some fascinating insights into his private estimation of the officers who made up the 'Ashanti Ring', but it also provides more information on his relationship with Chelmsford. For example, Wright disagrees with John Laband's view, articulated in *Kingdom in Crisis: The Zulu Response to the British Invasion of 1879* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), that Wolseley recognised that a retreat from Ulundi was desirable as Chelmsford had won a decisive victory there. Instead, Wright points out that an examination of Wolseley's correspondence and journal demonstrates that he opposed this course of action from the outset.

The most significant and interesting part of this section of the work is Chapter Five, which deals with Wolseley's settlement of Zululand. Here Wright sets himself the task of ascertaining what Wolseley hoped to achieve for the Zulu people and whether his aims were Machiavellian, as suggested by Leonard Thompson in *The Oxford History of South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2 Vols., 1969-1971), or benign. Once again, Wright's knowledge of Wolseley's private papers allows him to challenge some of the existing historical interpretations of the general's decision-making. Ultimately, Wright concludes that although Wolseley's settlement was clearly flawed, it was political expediency and ignorance – not an attempt to 'set Zulu against Zulu' – which undermined it and led to it causing civil war several years later. Wright therefore endorses the conclusion reached by Jeff Guy in *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884* (London: Longman, 1979) that Wolseley's settlement was not intended to destroy the Zulus in order to prepare the way for the British annexation of the region, since this line of argument credits Wolseley with an understanding of local politics that he did not possess.

The second part of the book, which consists of three chapters, describes the Second Anglo-Pedi War which was fought by the British, led by Wolseley, against the Bapedi tribe in October and November 1879. The first chapter in this section considers the political background to this conflict. Although Wright's explanation is largely based on secondary material, the account does a good job of describing this complex topic in an interesting and engaging way. In the next chapter he moves on to describe the outbreak of the war and Wolseley's advance to the Bapedi stronghold in the Lulu Mountains. This account benefits from a research trip conducted by the author to the region as the

photographs included here make it easier for the reader to visualise the terrain. However, in places the narrative in this chapter does become quite slow-moving as Wolseley's papers are used to provide details of events during the campaign that had little bearing on its outcome. For example, the description of Wolseley's preparations for the attack on the Bapedi is interrupted by a paragraph describing how he objected to the coverage of the death of the French Prince Imperial in the copy of the *Army and Navy Gazette*, which he had received from England. The last chapter in this section considers Wolseley's attack on the Bapedi 'Fighting Kopje' at Tsate on 28 November 1879. Whilst it would seem that Wolseley's papers do not throw much light on his decision-making during the battle, Wright's use of accounts by others who were present ensures that the description of the fighting is engaging. Nevertheless, the account of the battle would have been improved with the addition of a map making it easier to follow the movement and disposition of the forces engaged.

The third and final part of the work examines the reaction of the Boers to the events of 1879 and gives a brief account of Wolseley's return to England. At only twenty-eight pages this section is by far the shortest, but does a reasonable job of wrapping up the narrative and pointing out how the Second Anglo-Pedi War came to be forgotten and confused with the Basuto Gun War. There was, however, scope for a more complex treatment of Anglo-Boer relations here. For instance, the work ends by claiming that as the Boers 'regain[ed] their independence' during the First Anglo-Boer War they had 'the last laugh on [...] Wolseley and the great British Empire'. This conclusion does seem to overlook the British victory in the Second Boer War and the subsequent annexation of the Boer Republics just over a decade later.

To conclude, those with an interest in colonial history or the career of Wolseley will find much to enjoy in this book. It is particularly worth reading due to its coverage of the settlement at the end of the Zulu War, the detail it provides regarding Wolseley's personal views expressed in his private papers, and because it provides the fullest account of the Second Anglo-Pedi War yet published.

ADAM DIGHTON
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WATERLOO: THE CAMPAIGN OF 1815. VOLUME I: FROM ELBA TO LIGNY AND QUATRE BRAS, by John Hussey. London: Greenhill Books, 2017. ISBN: 9781784381967, pp. 712, £35.00.

At over 700 pages long, this is an elephant of a book, and yet the pace and writing style are anything but plodding. Hussey's achievement is not simply one of research but also of craftsmanship. He has carefully evaluated the evidence, thought through his ideas, and communicated them with notable clarity. The scholarship is self-evident. The writing is readable. The package as a whole is professionally-produced, with plentiful maps and a thoroughly-compiled index.

This is the history of 1815 from the point of view of the rulers and commanders, rather than the experiences of the rank and file. In his first volume, Hussey covers the lead-up to the campaign and then the opening battles on 15-16 June. (The second and final volume appeared in September 2017 and will be reviewed in a future edition of *JSAHR*.) This new account was badly needed, for it restores scholarly rigour and balance to the history of the campaign. The nature of Waterloo – its importance, its epic quality, the fame of the rival commanders, and the presence of troops from so many states – has often produced books riddled with controversies, conspiracy theories and nationalistic bias. Hussey builds a convincing case that criticisms of Wellington's readiness to support his Prussian allies promptly are unreasonable. By closely analysing Prussian orders, Hussey demonstrates that many common criticisms of the Duke could actually be applied more justly to the Prussian High Command, particularly the Chief of the General Staff, the mercurial General August Neidhardt von Gneisenau. If the brunt of Napoleon's invasion had initially fallen in Wellington's sector rather than in Blücher's, the Prussians would actually have been slower to intervene than was Wellington.

One of the points that emerges most strongly from Hussey's account is the incomplete and often informal, disjointed and haphazard nature of the coalition arrangements against Napoleon. This appears to have been partly because neither Wellington nor the Prussian High Command was accustomed to operating in both close proximity and close conjunction with an allied army of equal

standing. Furthermore, it was a hurriedly improvised campaign for all three armies, and the commanders were constrained in their ability to plan ahead for any eventuality, not least as they had to deal with numerous other pressing issues, including a mutiny by the Saxon contingent of Blücher's army and the difficulties of dealing with King William I of the United Netherlands.

Most of the key controversies of the Waterloo campaign are ultimately about communication. Hussey brings clarity to the notoriously complex sequence of messages, decisions, and actions. He has painstakingly unravelled numerous, tangled strands to ascertain who knew what and when. It is difficult today to grasp the mindset of self-confident military commanders in an age that took the slowness of communications for granted. Generals appear to have accepted that some of their messages would inevitably be late or go astray: they knew that the impact would be counter-balanced by the enemy having similar problems and were confident that if anything went wrong they would simply win in a different way and at a different time. Hussey makes the point that misunderstandings were even more likely to occur because key officers serving together in the campaign had reason to distrust, or even loathe, each other. As recently as March, Marshal Ney had promised King Louis XVIII to bring Napoleon to him in a cage. The Prussian IV Corps failed to arrive in time for the Battle of Ligny, largely because of the friction between its commander, General Friedrich von Bülow, and Gneisenau, who was his inferior in terms of both seniority and social background.

One of the great strengths of this volume is that it places the core of the campaign – 15 to 18 June in Belgium – within its proper context. Hussey rightly argues that this is essential to enable the reader to understand why events unfolded as they did. He explains the background with meticulous care and precision. Logistics in particular receive due attention; Hussey explains precisely why Ostend and Antwerp were indispensable to a British army in the United Netherlands, by examining the capacities of those ports and the limited ability of the German states to produce food and weapons. He covers neglected topics, such as the Bourbon counter-offensive within France that sought up until early May to reverse Napoleon's seizure of power in Paris. To avoid interrupting the flow of the narrative, he sensibly provides appendices at the end of relevant chapters so he can examine key issues in greater detail, such as whether there was any collusion in Napoleon's escape from Elba. The result is that Hussey has produced a genuinely ground-breaking re-assessment of one of the most written-about military campaigns in history. This is an admirable book, and its publication is a landmark event.

ANDREW UFFINDELL
Bedfordshire

NOTE – *A twenty per cent discount is available for SAHR members when purchasing both of John Hussey's two volumes on Waterloo. To claim your discount, enter the following code when making your purchase on Pen and Sword's website: JSAHRW20*

BROWNE OFF AND BLOODY-MINDED: THE BRITISH SOLDIER GOES TO WAR, 1939-1945, by Alan Allport. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. ISBN: 9780300170757, pp. 424, £25.00.

Browned Off and Bloody-Minded is a super read. It is not, however, as Alan Allport acknowledges, a conventional military history of the Second World War. It does not focus on the decisions of the great captains and national leaders, nor does it dwell excessively on the tactical and technological underpinnings of military performance and battle outcomes. The book is primarily about another topic, the contribution of the ordinary men who fought for Britain in the Second World War. It, therefore, occupies, in many ways, heretofore 'lightly held' historiographical territory, the space between operational and strategic histories of the war and the more personal memoirs and 'experience' books that are ever popular with publishers.

Allport outlines how the British Army that emerged after its great victory in 1918 was cut back dramatically in terms of funds and manpower during the inter-war years. But, in line with much of the recent literature, he challenges the impression that the inter-war army was a technological backwater. Instead, the defining problem that faced the Army during this period was 'one of world view; or, to be more exact, what the Army believed the proper order of society and the relations between its officers

and men should be'. The Regular Army was, Allport outlines, 'committed to a model of social and moral hierarchy that was becoming more and more anachronistic', a model imbued with 'a set of assumptions about class, authority and power' that did not resonate with contemporary society.

Thus, when Britain mobilised for 'total war' and created a mass citizen army in 1939, 'soldiers and civilians regarded one another with a mixture of incomprehension and suspicion'. They occupied 'different worlds' with different assumptions about how things should be done and with what purpose. Of the 3.8 million men who served in the British Army during the war, all but 258,000 were civilians on the day war broke out. This wartime army, of shopkeepers, bricklayers, bank clerks, confectioners, bespoke tailors, accountants, school teachers, painters, undergraduates and travelling salesmen, was typically far better educated than their Regular compatriots. They came from respected trades and professions and many found the Army's hierarchical and pre-defined way of doing things problematic and inefficient.

As a consequence, the Army struggled to function as a team and it suffered from recurrent problems with morale. Allport uses contemporaneously recorded sources to explore a series of morale crises that affected the performance of the troops during the disasters that afflicted the Army in the first half of the war. The collapse at Singapore, as one source put it, was not caused by materiel disadvantages but by the 'almost complete demoralisation of the defending troops; the striking lack of any offensive spirit; the widespread acceptance of the view that the battle was a forlorn hope; and, in isolated cases, an actual refusal to fight'. The basic mistake the Army was making, 'was its belief that it could train worldlier and better-educated wartime conscripts in the same way that it had always trained its peacetime regulars'. These men, therefore, needed to be handled very differently. A change in the way the Army did things was necessary if the war was to be won.

That a turnaround did take place is credited to the two most senior officers on the Army Council, Alan Brooke, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Churchill's most senior military advisor, and Ronald Adam, the Adjutant General, who was responsible for all matters of personnel, administration, and welfare. Adam, with Brooke's support, introduced revised processes for Other Rank and officer selection that made the Army more egalitarian and democratic in character. He revolutionised man-management and, as a result, the culture of this vast military institution gradually changed for the better. In explaining victory and defeat, therefore, Allport puts the citizen soldier right at the centre of his narrative, and in doing so he has made a very real and important contribution to a historiography that all too often focuses almost exclusively on technology, doctrine, and command.

The book is replete with fascinating statistics and arguments. For example, Allport tells us that an infantryman was fourteen times more likely to die in action than a soldier in the support arms, and by the end of the war, the Royal Artillery was bigger than the Royal Navy. He has an eye for numbers that strike a chord of understanding or surprise, making the book a delight to read. He is also a wordsmith, and whether referring to the trials of separation suffered by the 2.6 million men who served overseas during the war or the difficult campaign in Italy, which he describes as 'a Mediterranean Passchendaele', Allport takes the reader on a vivid and enjoyable journey.

The book finishes with a look towards the world that emerged post-1945. The war was, for many, an 'eye opener': 'To hell with Europe. To hell with the Empire. *That* was the lesson that many soldiers took home with them.' Nevertheless, Allport plays down the extent to which the experience of the Second World War radicalised the British soldier, and by extension his family. While he acknowledges that, by the end of the conflict, Churchill was often booed by soldiers whenever he appeared on a newsreel, especially in South East Asia, he does not link the outcome of the epoch-defining 1945 election with the soldiers' vote. In his view, voting against the Government in 1945 was nothing more than a way of blowing a loud raspberry at 'them' and everything 'they' seemed to stand for, and nothing more.

One night during the Anzio offensive, as the troops were moving forward for an attack, Raleigh Trevelyan overheard an officer with a public school accent shrieking 'for Heaven's sake, there, get a move on, get a move on' in a high-pitched nasal voice. Suddenly, a voice rang out from the ranks: 'Shut yer trap, la-di-dah.'

That was, from Allport's perspective, 'about as close to revolution as the British Army got during the Second World War'.

There is little doubt that this is a well-researched and innovative study of the British Army during the Second World War. Although Allport relies dominantly on secondary sources, he does dip into the

archives to deepen the evidential base and enrich his arguments. He has made a significant contribution to the historiography; I can heartily recommend *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded* to the readers of the *JSAHR*.

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THEY CALLED IT SHELL SHOCK: COMBAT STRESS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR, by Stefanie Linden. Solihull: Helion, 2016. ISBN: 9781911096351, pp. 272, £25.00.

They Called It Shell Shock examines instances of psychological breakdown in the British and German forces during the First World War. Focusing on some of Europe's most prominent neurological institutions at the time – the National Hospital for the Paralysed and Epileptic (commonly known as Queen Square), in London, the Jena Military Hospital, and Berlin's *Charité* – Stefanie Linden uses hitherto unpublished case records, alongside medical and psychiatric monographs and journals, to illuminate the experiences of British and German soldiers who broke down on the battlefield and at home. She tracks their personal journeys through the medical systems that attempted to treat their conditions, and analyses the psycho-medical understanding and treatment of psychological conditions on both sides of the conflict. *They Called It Shell Shock* offers an informative, engaging, and sympathetic overview of the psychological consequences of warfare and the responses of the military-medical community in two combatant nations. Linden contributes a new perspective to the historical literature on shell shock, analysing valuable original sources (in the form of case records) with a psychiatric gaze, and examining both British and German medical records.

At the outset, *They Called It Shell Shock* establishes the landscape of pre-war psychiatry, outlining attitudes towards, and the treatment of, hysterical disorders through the work of Jean-Martin Charcot in the second half of the nineteenth century. 'The history of shell shock', Linden notes, 'started in the lecture theatres of Paris', where the groundwork was laid for treatment methods that would later be used on Service patients in the First World War. The initial medical response to the war's psychological casualties is summarised in the second and third chapters, which track the establishment of treatment facilities at base hospitals and at specialist institutions on the home front. Chapter Four discusses wartime debates over shell shock and its causes within the medical community, and Chapter Five explores the use of chemical weapons as a factor in the development of psychological conditions. Further, the role of class in the expression of symptoms and treatment methods is considered. The following chapter takes the reader on a tour of some of the Queen Square's wards on a day in 1917, and explores some of the varied symptoms and treatments that could be found in the hospital. Chapters Seven and Eight examine the emerging idea that psychosis, rather than being a chronic condition, could be curable, and triggered by traumatic experiences. Chapters Nine and Ten deal with suicide and desertion; acts which were unlawful and punishable by the military machine, and examines the relationship between suicide, desertion, and mental illness. Psychiatric diagnoses, Linden notes, could exempt soldiers from punishments on the grounds of diminished responsibility.

The stage for Chapter Eleven is neither the battlefield nor the psychiatric unit, but the streets of London and Berlin, which bore witness to the psychological breakdown of many Servicemen. Psychological conditions could be triggered by apparently minor events and could occur years after the war's end. Such public spectacles were bad for morale, and they highlighted the need for effective treatments. In Chapters Twelve and Thirteen the wartime medical community's obsession with shell shock is examined, exploring the attempts to understand and conceptualise the disorder, and the treatment methods employed to do so, including the popular use of suggestion and coercion in both Britain and Germany. Linden's analysis ends with an examination of modern therapeutic approaches and beliefs about the origin of war trauma, in which she concludes that 'the principal fault lines between constitutional models and psychological reactions have remained the same'.

Similar debates, which occurred in wartime and which still exist in the field today, are highlighted within the book, in particular the debate over psychological and organic explanations, and the use of suggestive treatments. The First World War initiated changes in neurological treatment, as psychiatrists had access to greater resources and large numbers of patients to examine, and while the organic model had fallen from favour by 1916, doctors and patients often favoured biological explanations (which

reduced stigma and blame). This phenomenon, Linden notes, is still active today. The medical lessons of shell shock, therefore, remain significant.

Linden's medical background lends a psychiatric perspective to the analysis of symptoms, diagnoses and treatments, and a range of disorders including twilight states, dream psychosis, and Ganser syndrome are explored in Chapters Seven and Eight. The psychological responses to combat and trauma were manifested in myriad ways, as shown by the records of men with functional blindness, deafness, mutism, paralysis, hysterical seizures, and terror psychosis, among others. Approaching British and German records comparatively demonstrates how social and cultural factors influenced the manifestation of symptoms in individuals. Analysing the different expressions of war trauma, Linden points to the cultural construction of symptoms, and the role of social stigma (surrounding, for example, hysterical seizures in Britain), but also emphasises the importance of contagion, as symptoms were often 'transmitted' between soldiers. The inclusion of men's personal testimonies and details of their pre-war lives helps to steer the book away from a potentially clinical feel, and firmly positions the psychologically wounded Servicemen at the centre of this examination, adding a personal dimension to this history of shell shock.

One of the book's key assertions is to challenge pejorative representations of the wartime medical response to shell shock. Linden contests simplified analyses of treatment methods as cruel and punitive, and asserts that medical practitioners, in contrast to some academic and popular assumptions, did not commonly assume conscious malingering among their patients, nor did they often send shell-shocked Servicemen back to the front lines. While electrotherapy was used to treat many cases at both the *Charité* and Queen Square, the effectiveness of treatment methods, and the rapid results they could yield, is highlighted by Linden. The suffering that could be caused by medical interventions is, however, acknowledged, particularly in relation to German treatment practices, where the application of electric currents, as well as isolation and confinement, were employed as punishments for soldiers demonstrating abnormal behaviour. While Chapter Thirteen examines follow-up studies conducted at other psychiatric units, statistics for the long-term psychiatric health and rehabilitation of patients at Queen Square, Jena, and the *Charité* are not available. The long-term success rates of such treatment methods must, therefore, not be overstated.

As medical case records form the book's primary set of sources, it is inclined to favour approaches and methods of treatment employed within these specific institutions. Psychoanalytical modes of treatment, for example, do not receive equal weight of analysis, as such methods were not practised at Queen Square, nor, however, was classical psychoanalysis a common feature of other institutions. While this book does not provide a comprehensive account of the complete treatment methods and approaches employed in wartime Britain and Germany, therefore, it does offer an insightful evaluation of the practices and approaches of some of the most prestigious institutions at the time. Moreover, *They Called It Shell Shock* is an instructive and engaging read. The book's argument is clearly signposted and well-illustrated, and while Linden engages with a range of psychiatric analyses, the reader feels at ease with these diagnostic explanations. This account of the psychiatric consequences of warfare is accessible and useful for undergraduates studying the medical history of the Great War, and for general readers with an interest in wartime psychiatry. The book provides a valuable contribution to our understanding of the experiences of shell-shocked soldiers and those who treated them.

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THE TANKS: THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL TANK REGIMENT, 1976-2017, by Charles Messenger. Solihull: Helion, 2017. ISBN: 9781912174003, pp. 232, £29.95.

This book, by well-known military historian Charles Messenger, is the fourth volume of the history of the Royal Tank Regiment (RTR). In writing it, Messenger finds himself in the illustrious company of two previous authors: Sir Basil Liddell Hart, who produced the first two volumes covering the periods 1914-39 and 1939-45 (both published by Cassell in 1959), which was surely one of his best works of history; and Major Kenneth Macksey who charted the thirty-year period 1945-1975 (published by Arms and Armour Press in 1979). Basing his account on a variety of sources, notably the 'Crunch

Reports' produced by commanding officers on their respective regiments for the Colonels Commandant, as well as material from the National Archives at Kew, Messenger also possesses the advantage of having served with the regiment for nigh on twenty years, so that he is able to navigate his way through the organisational and technical complexities of the story.

Inevitably, any reviewer is going to draw comparisons with the previous three volumes. What is noticeable is that Messenger has eschewed the approach adopted by Macksey, who considered his subject matter through a combination of a chronological structure interspersed with thematic chapters, overlapping in time, such as 'Defence in the East, 1949-1953' and 'The Canal Pivot Zone, 1949-1956'. In this volume, however, the author sticks closely to a chronological approach in the ten chapters, and it is easy to see why: it reflects the fewer resources and the types of tours that marked this chapter in the regiment's history. This is not to say, of course, that the challenges were any smaller. The narrative conveys very well, in fact, the tension in the period 1976 to 1993 between tours of duty in Northern Ireland, followed by BAOR duties in northern Germany and then, latterly, employment in the Persian Gulf War of 1990-91.

What emerges from the first three chapters, to use a phrase which appears in an anecdote recounted in General Sir Richard Dannatt's autobiography, is the British soldier's capacity 'to muddle through'. Naturally, the ability to 'improvise' (the term is used here very loosely) is essential for any 'tankie' searching for spare parts, or attempting to bring a coughing engine to life again. But as Sir Richard himself concluded, muddling through is not always enough and sometimes can spell failure. What comes across in the chapter on the final phase of the Cold War is the extent of the equipment problems in the BAOR's tank units, including inadequate radios and a lack of spare parts. Although a powerful machine when it was not in the workshop, the Chieftain tank had (as those who have crewed it know only too well) its drawbacks, hence the arrival of Challenger was certainly a relief. The reader concludes the third chapter with the inescapable thought: 'Thank goodness we never had to face dozens of Warsaw Pact divisions in a shooting war.' The question of 'hardware shortages' is emphasised by Messenger in his conclusions on the Persian Gulf War when he notes that 'BAOR's equipment resources had been totally drained in the effort to deploy one combat-ready armoured division'.

Following 1991, the RTR was confronted by the amalgamations necessitated by 'Options for Change', which caused a good deal of worry and not a few internal Whitehall battles. The remaining chapters succeed in documenting the varied types of activities in which the Regiment engaged, including some non-military tasks such as assisting in combating an outbreak of foot and mouth disease among cattle in northern England in 2001. The account is, though, essentially one of a range of tours of duty in Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq (Telic 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, and 13) and Afghanistan (Herrick 6, 10-13, and 16-18), some of which saw members of RTR employed on foot. There are, of course, details of matters close to the regiment's heart, such as the unveiling of the RTR memorial in Whitehall on 13 June 2000, or sporting successes scored by members of the regiment. The final third of the book features, needless to say, much detail on the tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. The preparations for Operation Telic once again involved heroics around the logistical preparations; and, not surprisingly, it emerges from Messenger's account of the opening phase of Telic that the British were completely unprepared for the demands and challenges of the occupation of Basra; tours in Afghanistan were dominated by the battle against Improvised Explosive Devices. The sources employed by Messenger confirm, once again, the remarkable survivability of both Challenger 2 and the Mastiff against the range of threats they faced, frequently including Rocket Propelled Grenades and IEDs.

As with any good regimental history, there are excellent maps, photographs, and appendices. There are nine colour maps of the quality which readers have come to expect from Helion, showing Northern Ireland, the BAOR's area of operations, Cyprus, Kosovo, three maps for Iraq 2003-11, and two for Afghanistan; there are also forty-eight, mostly colour, photographs. The six appendices chart the battle honours of the RTR, operational tours 1976-2017 (squadron-level upwards), honours and awards, Colonels Commandant 1976-2017, AFVs used by the regiment, and RTR customs and dress. The list of acronyms is also extensive enough to enable the 'outsider' (i.e. those who have not served in the RTR) to steer their way through the minefield of military terminology and abbreviations.

The book finishes on the rather sad note of the announcement of the amalgamation of 1 RTR and 2 RTR in July 2012 as a result of Army reductions; the parade to mark the event took place on 2 August 2014. Despite this, the lessons from both Iraq and Afghanistan are clear: tanks and other AFVs still have the capacity to reduce significantly infantry casualties, even in urban environments and

unfavourable, IED-infested terrain. Recent military developments in Russia and the Middle East have, without doubt, raised some question marks about the wisdom of assuming that the future does not belong to tanks.

While the context to specific episodes is usually given by Messenger, it is at times restricted to a couple of sentences, so that those reading this book in ten years' time may struggle to understand the wider background if their historical memories begin later than the 1980s. Indeed, those chapters covering large-scale campaigns appear rather brief, given their significance and how much has already been published on them. Thus, the chapter on the RTR's involvement in the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in 2003 is just over sixteen pages, while the chapter on the Persian Gulf War of 1990-91 is even shorter, despite the fact that it covers other subject matter up to 1993. This minor caveat aside, volume four of the history of the RTR is, nonetheless, a worthy addition to any military library. It is certainly a must-have volume for those who currently serve, or have served, with tanks and, especially, the RTR; it is also recommended reading for those with a strong interest in armour, who will profit from the level of detail on training, tactics, and equipment to be found in its pages.

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HON. EDITOR'S NOTE

First published in 1921, the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* is one of the premier journals of military history. It is published quarterly, in March, June, September and December. The Hon. Editor welcomes Articles, Communications, and Notes and Documents from members and non-members of the Society on any aspect of the history of the British Army – including the Militia and Volunteer Forces, and armies levied by the Crown in earlier times – or land forces in the countries of the Commonwealth and former British Empire. It is a journal of record, publishing a wide range of papers on subjects as diverse as military campaigns, war and society, uniforms and weapons, and military art and architecture. As part of its mission to promote army historical research, the *JSAHR* also has an ongoing commitment to publishing primary sources. Thus, it includes editions of letters and diaries from all periods, as well as a selection of personal military memoirs and reminiscences. Every issue includes a full colour illustration.

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Material for consideration should be sent to the Honorary Editor, Andrew Cormack, PhD, FSA, FRHistS, 36 Ebbisham Road, Worcester Park, Surrey KT4 8NE. E-mail: andrew.e.cormack@btconnect.com



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The *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* has published ground-breaking scholarly articles on army history for more than ninety years. In the last twenty years it has continued to provide a venue for publication by its non-academic members, many of whom are engaged in focused historical research, but it has also constituted a forum to academics at various grades for whom research and publication constitutes an important part of their professional development.

Although the quality and accuracy of everything that the Society publishes is of the greatest importance and standards are maintained at a very high level, it is nevertheless appreciated that different types of material require different treatment. For some years now the pieces in the Journal have been divided into **Communications** and **Articles**.

Articles are substantial scholarly studies that are subject to anonymous peer review by one or more specialists in the field to ensure academic quality. Peer reviewers are chosen from established academics internationally, and are authorities on the particular subjects of articles. Points arising from this process will be passed to the author for comment, counter argument, clarification or expansion and the results of that process will be incorporated into the article before publication. Articles are subject to initial editorial review and may be referred back to authors for development of some points; once accepted for peer review they are not formally accepted for publication until the peer review process has been completed.

Communications are shorter pieces that, by their focused nature, do not lend themselves to peer review. They include studies of equipment, weaponry, uniform or medals, as well as diaries or memoirs and regimental or campaign history. While not peer reviewed, they are subject to a rigorous editorial process to ensure quality, accuracy and clarity of expression. The Honorary Editor may take advice from any other specialist in the field who will be able to assist in the 'quality control' of this type of material. Pieces are returned to the authors to address any matters raised and are only published subject to satisfactory adjustment in the light of the comments received.



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Members of the Society will be aware that there is usually discussion at the Annual General Meeting regarding the Society's finances and that this is sometimes in relation to proposed increases in subscriptions. Council naturally keeps a tight rein on subscriptions and increases are rare. Nevertheless the Society's expenditure is substantial and our reserves are not extensive.

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Events Co-ordinator: Adam Storing – assisted by other members of the Society, will undertake the organisation and liaison for visits and lectures. He may be contacted on – events@sahr.org.uk.



NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO THE JOURNAL

Michelle Arentsen completed her B.A. Honours in History at the University of Manitoba in 2016. She is currently enrolled in the M.A. History program at Trent University. Her thesis explores the lives of the juvenile delinquents in London in the 18th-century and seeks to understand the experiences of young adolescents in English reformatory institutions. She has received several awards, including the University of Manitoba Undergraduate Research Award – awarded under the mentorship of Dr. Greg Smith, who also studies English juvenile delinquents. She was offered a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada grant for her M.A. studies and the Alan Wilson Memorial Graduate Entrance Scholarship at Trent University.

Earl John Chapman, a native of Montreal, Canada, is an avid military historian specializing in the Seven Years' War in North America and in the early years of Canada's volunteer militia force. He has published numerous articles, many appearing in international journals and magazines, and has written several books, the most recent being *A Dangerous Service...: Memoirs of a Black Watch Officer in the French and Indian War – John Grant, 1741-1828*, which he co-edited with Ian M. McCulloch in 2017. He was also the 2008 recipient of the prestigious Gordon Atkinson Memorial Prize in Highland Military History, awarded annually by the Quebec Thistle Council.

R. Paul Goodman is a long-time student of the history of the mid-Georgian Army. Paul holds degrees from Sir George Williams & McGill Universities in Montreal. A specialist in 18th century military books and manuscripts, he is presently researching the role of the British army at Laffeldt 1747 in the context of continental military practice.

Trevor Harvey holds an economics degree from the University of London and an MBA from Cranfield University. He retired in 2010 after a career in financial services and management education. He was one of the initial graduates in 2006 of the University of Birmingham's MA in British First World War Studies. He was awarded his PhD in 2016 by the same university for his thesis '*An Army of Brigadiers*': *British Brigade Commanders at the Battle of Arras, 1917*.

David Howell was born in Norwich in 1946 and educated at the King Edward VI Grammar School, Stafford. He joined the Staffordshire Police in 1965 and retired in 1995, remaining in a support staff role until 2011. He is married with two daughters and resides in Leicester. His specialist field is the military in India 1750-1900.

Jennine Hurl-Eamon is a Professor of History at Trent University, Canada. She is the author of three books: *Gender and Petty Violence in London, 1680-1720*; *Women's Roles in Eighteenth-Century Europe*; and *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: The Girl I Left Behind Me*. The latter was published by Oxford University Press in 2014. She has also written more than a dozen articles in academic journals and edited collections and presented her research at many international conferences. She is the recipient of several Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada fellowships and was a Visiting Fellow of Clare Hall College at the University of Cambridge in 2011. She is currently working on a book on childhood and war in the period from 1756 to 1815.

Jacqueline Reiter is a freelance historian. She received her PhD in 2006 from the University of Cambridge on the subject of national defence in British political debate during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Her first book, *The Late Lord: the life of John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham*, was published by Pen & Sword in 2017.

John H. Rumsby received a BA in Archaeology and Geography at the University of Southampton, and in 2005 was awarded a PhD by the University of Leeds for a study of the Sixteenth Lancers in India 1822-46. He is a retired museum curator, and has a special interest in British regimental soldiering 1815-1860.

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